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THE FIRST WORLD WAR

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

1914-1918

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

OF

LIEUT.-COL. C. À COURT REPINGTON

C. M. G.

COMMANDER OF THE ORDER OF LEOPOLD

OFFICER OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR

VOLUME II

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Saturday, July 21. Sir W. Robertson writes to me in reply to a letter of mine commiserating with him on the Woolwich fiasco and advising him not to press for control of the Army in India in peace time as he would not get support for it. He says, 'I was badly let down as regards Woolwich, and for the future will be glad not to be accompanied by any politician when I go to see our workers at home. My wish was to give them a pat on the back for what they have done and to induce them to go on doing more. But they did not wish to hear me as they wanted to get at Addison. As regards control over military affairs in India, I note what you say. My opinion remains unchanged, but I shall not press it any more than is desirable ;

up to that point it will be pressed if and when the question comes before me.'

Lunched at the Marlborough Club with the Comte de Noailles and Colonel Fagalde, Foch's new liaison officer with Robertson. I like Fagalde, who is a soldier before everything else and most keen about his work. He was quiet at first, but warmed up when we began to talk. He is a pro-Salonikan and we had the usual argument on the subject, neither convincing the other. He considers that the Aisne battle is all one since April 16, and that it is a battle for observation, and that the victor is enabled to reduce his forces when he secures the better observation. He thinks that the opening of the new L. of C. to the East via Taranto will help. He says that in France and England a false view is held of Sarrail, who is a soldier first of all and has merely been used by politicians as a pawn in the anti-Joffre game. We agree to meet again and talk. Afterwards went to the Countess Torby's new house at 3 Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park. Had a talk with her and the Grand Duke, and saw Countess Zia's presents which are still in the drawing-room after the wedding yesterday. They want me to help about getting their son a commission in our Army. The Countess discussed the war and politics. She wonders how we can expect Germany to become democratic when her neighbour Russia shows her how democracy can drag a country down. Lady Islington writes to me that the P.M. has refused her Jack's resignation, and has done so in such a way that he has felt obliged to withdraw it.

Sunday, July 22. Week-end at Coombe: Sir Arthur and Lady Paget, Charles Fox, Evan Charteris, Lady Mar, Sir Archibald and Lady Murray, Lady Ridley, Miss Muriel Wilson, F. E. Smith's brother, Mr. and Miss Kerr-Clark, Baron M. de Rothschild, Tony Drexel, Mrs. Rupert Beckett, Mrs. O'Neill, the Prince and Princess Radziwill, and M. Bardac. A very pleasant party. Charles Fox came down with me, and he thrilled the guests with the stories of his imprisonment in Germany and his escape. Played tennis

morning and afternoon. Smith very good. Lady Mar and M. W. played excellently, and Mrs. O'Neill as splendidly as always. Sir A. P. has a good day with his troops in prospect and wants me to come and see it. It is Scheme G, and the Canadians come into it. Kerr-Clark tells me that the meeting of the Allied ministers in Paris this week is mainly to revise the proposals of the Paris economic conference owing to America's objections to the former arrangements. Tony very mysterious about American difficulties in France, but when I told him what they were he became more expansive. He thinks that Pershing will have to ask France to do certain things, and that he will need our support. Tony is now interpreter on Pershing's staff in France. He understands by now that the Americans will have to build their own railways, provide their own rolling stock, and do everything themselves for their Armies. He praises the French Army, but is critical of French politicians.

Lady Ridley and I discussed what posterity would think of us in England. We agreed that we should be considered rather callous to go on with our usual life when we were reading of 3000 to 4000 casualties a day. But she said that people could not keep themselves elevated permanently on some plane above the normal, and she supposed that things round us explained the French Revolution and the behaviour of the French nobility. However, nearly all these ladies are full of good works. Lady R. and Mrs. Beckett have the exhausting work of their own hospitals, and the others help, while all the men are busy all day and are all the better for a little company at lunch and dinner and a Sunday in the country. Personally I think that the hostesses of this time have done an infinity of good in helping to keep people sane, steady, and cheerful. The only visible signs of war are that the men now wear usually short coats and black ties in the evenings, that dinners are shorter, and that servants are fewer and less good. There is a want of taxis and of petrol, and sugar in some places is rather scarce. The working classes are well paid, and food is abundant if

dear. There is the minimum of privation, and no general and real suffering from the war. The greatest sufferers are the middle classes, especially the humble gentlewomen, with fixed incomes, and those who have lost husbands or sons. We wondered what particular things relating to this period would interest posterity most. We hoped that it might be the calm and steadiness of the Empire in the midst of the greatest war in its history, and we hoped, without feeling absolutely assured of the fact, that this attitude would continue to the end. There was an air-raid warning soon after eight this morning. We heard either guns or maroons, but on making inquiry, Sir A. P. was told that there had been an attack on Harwich and Felixstowe and that London had not been attacked.

Monday, July 23. Bad news to-day from Russia. The Second Army on the S.W. front has given way and the enemy is at the gates of Tarnopol. Many units refuse to fight and are dispersing. All the gains of the last three weeks of fighting have been lost. A nice letter from General Pétain inviting me to come and see him when I go over. Lunched with Lord and Lady Mar, their boy, and Lady Ilchester. A pleasant talk. They are in 44 Grosvenor Square, and I went upstairs to see the curious fresco painting attributed to Hogarth and covering all one end of the room. It is a triptych with painted columns between. It was previously covered over with canvas, and was only discovered by accident. It is doubtless of the Hogarth period, but assuredly not by him I should say. I met afterwards the naval officer who was with Jellicoe when I was last in Paris. He says that we have had two or three bad submarine days. He hopes that the American convoys will get over, but says that the Huns never appear upon the surface now, and that the first warning is usually a torpedo as the periscope is seldom seen. All the Grand Fleet is in the Forth now, and might be mined-in any night. They are standing by in case the attack in Flanders brings out the Huns.

Tuesday, July 24. Thurlow the builder called at Maryon. He says that he has eleven men instead of the forty he had before the war, and that they are all old and not venturesome on high ladders. Their wages are one-third up, and the price of materials is awful. He says that the war has taught him how dependent all classes are upon each other. About the wisest saying that I have heard since the war began.

Lunched with Lord Percy at White's. He is now in the M.O. branch at the War Office. We could not find much to cheer us in the Russian news, which is still execrable. He wanted to know if I thought we could win the war if Russia was placed out of court. What would I advise? I said that it would be difficult, but that we four Western Powers must then make a great effort, close down all secondary operations as much as possible, call up all our reserves of manhood, and place another large batch of divisions in the field. P. thinks that L. G. cannot be deaf to the appeals of the French, Venizelos, and the Serbs for us to stay at Salonika, and he believes that the ousting of King Constantine has practically forced our hand again and compelled us to stay. He hopes that as Venizelos's promised divisions mature we may be able to take more of ours away. He says, and I agree, that it is dreadful to look at the relative forces on our three Eastern fronts and to note how little we have made of our superiority except in Mesopotamia. He fancies that L. G. tells the W.O. that a call for more men will spell revolution. I said that if L. G. told the country the whole truth and what should be done, every one would respond. P. admits that nothing has been arranged for any despatch of Italian troops to France. In the last Saint Jean de Maurienne conference the Italians even refused to find labour battalions for France. All this must be changed, and I have written an article bringing the subject in. P. thinks that X. has a bad influence on the affairs at the War Cabinet, as he is clever and writes well, but has no knowledge or judgment of great military affairs. I must see X. and find out how things stand.

Wednesday, July 25. A letter from Carson saying that he is very sorry to leave the Admiralty, but that it is impossible, with the great volume of work that there is now to do, to serve in the War Cabinet and as the head of a department at the same time, and he says that he must serve where it is thought that he can be of most use. An article by me on the outlook appears to-day, and receives general approval. Montagu writes that letters of encouragement like mine are very acceptable at the present moment, and asks me to come and see him when I have anything to suggest. Winston sends a wire of thanks. These two last Ministers have a bad press. Doris Keane tells me that the seventy carpenters and others employed at her theatre are rabid about Winston's appointment, and that it has caused them to distrust L. G. and write him off as a mere politician. Uneasy lies the head that rests at No 10!

Thursday, July 26. A talk with Meredith and his partner about the Memoirs. Tribunal in the afternoon. Marjorie dined with me at Claridge's. I left the dinner to Charles and was well inspired. We saw the end of the Palace Revue afterwards, and voted Gertie Millar to be still unapproachable in her particular branch. She is an artist.

Friday, July 27. I picked up Marjorie and we lunched with Doris Keane, E., and the Epsteins at Doris's new house, 34 Chapel Street, which is already very delicious and is going to be a gem. Doris in high spirits. Very entertaining. Epstein has not much conversation. We went on to his studio to see him modelling the bust of Doris. It is a good resemblance, full face, and should be very successful. We then went to the Grosvenor Gallery to see the pictures. We greatly enjoyed Laszlo's portraits of Lord Carnock and Mrs. Arthur Wilson, which are fine works. Mrs. Asquith's portrait—or at least the portrayal of her back—by Ranken, is very clever. I did not like McEvoy's portrait of Lady Gwendeline Churchill. He has not caught her particular winsomeness at all, but his portrait of Miss Asquith is lifelike. Jessie Gibson's 'Coster Girl,' Norah Neilson Gray's 'Haunted Garden,'

Laura Knight's 'Pavlova at the Palace,' and a few more also pleased us. Lady Talbot sends me a charming letter about my last article, and others arrive approving. Colonel Mola very pleased that I have put forward the outcome of our conversations, and promises to promote the same ideas in Italy.

Week-end, Saturday, July 28 *to Monday, July* 30. Captain Fox and I travelled down to Glynde to stay with the Islingtons. Princess Patricia of Connaught, Lady Essex, Lord Peel, and McEvoy the artist also there. I like the latter. He is intelligent and pleasant, but Fox asks why he wears pyjamas by day and finds it necessary to brush his hair so quaintly. The Princess has become very handsome, and has a charming manner. It is a pleasure to see a princess who is not dowdy. We all listened to Fox's account of his adventures, which thrilled every one. On Sunday I had a long talk with Peel about home politics, State finance, nationalisation of great industries, etc. He is a good man and ought to be more in view. Islington and I discussed India again. He is dead against altering Army administration in India, and says that Monro has made all the changes needed. These include the regular assembly of the Army Council, the raising of the status of the A.G. and Q.M.G. in India; the increase of the staffs of Army commanders, etc., while the creation of a third Army is contemplated. But Monro still holds out for the Indian cadets to be at Sandhurst. I should hear from him soon on this point. Islington will not stay long at the I.O. I fear. It will be a pity. We played tennis on Sunday, but were driven in later by the rain, and then played Bridge, or at least Fox, Lady Essex, Islington, and I played, and Peel a rubber or two. Miss Joan Poynder a very attractive girl, clever, and a good hand at talking in an interesting way. The Princess very delightful when the first formalities began to wear off. She is rather like Juliet Duff. Going up to town Lady Essex made Lady Islington do some impersonations. She did a cockney girl in a train journey, then the Sicilian actors, and finally Mrs. X. She was

quite inimitable, and we all laughed heartily. The guns in Flanders were heard very distinctly on the terrace at Glynde. It was a continuous throbbing, the noise of the heaviest guns occasionally rising above the distant din. The Princess told a story of a Chinese Ambassador at a British naval review. He was asked whether he enjoyed it. He replied, through the interpreter, that he did not enjoy it at all, and wished himself back at Harrod's Stores! Mr. Martin writes from Liverpool to the *Times*, to express 'the appreciation heard in the North, of the cool judgment and clarity of view of the too infrequent articles of your Military Correspondent,' and more to the same effect.

Wednesday, August 1. Y. writes that X. is his chief rival for the Paris Embassy. My dread is that some pricked bubble of a politician may be unloaded into the Embassy, to get him out of the way. Lunched with the Lyttons: Mrs. Earle and Lord and Lady Francis Scott also there; Lord F. still very lame and walking with sticks. A pleasant talk. I liked Mrs. Earle's story of a remark made by the daughter of a distinguished political family: 'One of our grandmothers was a ballet dancer and another was a French cook, so really we ought to be something.' Much pleasure about the battle which began yesterday and has won for us a large area east of Ypres. Much talk also about Henderson's visit to Paris with Ramsay Macdonald, and we all feel that H. cannot disassociate himself from his position as a member of the War Cabinet, and that Parliament is rightly wrathful that he should mix himself up with R. M.'s intrigue. I find that the Lyttons' friends are thinking of the Paris Embassy for him. I should prefer him at the head of a department here, as he has high character, much ability, and is an excellent speaker.

Met Colonel Pollen afterwards. He was with Murray in Egypt. He tells me that the shelving beach, and three or four miles of shifting sand dunes 300 feet high, on the coast near Gaza, as well as the constant and heavy surf, make the railway the only practicable L. of C. He says that it was all different in Alexander's day, when the Mahamudie

mouth of the Nile was open. It was this branch of the Nile that the Jews crossed in fleeing from Egypt, and not the Red Sea. A west wind drove the waters back and piled them in a heap. When the wind changed the waters began to percolate through the sand and made it a morass. It was that in which Pharaoh came to grief. The Jews had got over dry before the wind changed. A Jew would. Pollen says that Murray reached Egypt in Jan. 1916, and did a great work in reorganising all the remnants of troops in Egypt and coming from Gallipoli and Australasia. He eventually formed 16 divisions in all. Eleven of these were then sent off to other theatres, and he was left with only four by May or June 1916. He was told to act defensively about Oct. 1916. He said that he could do so with three divisions if he occupied Katia. He did so, and then another division was taken from him. He now constructed his railway of 4·8 half-inch gauge and his pipe lines, and reached El Arish in Feb. of this year, and attacked Gaza, Feb. 3. He asked for another division and more cavalry, and was then told that he did not realise the importance of pushing on. The second fight at Gaza was April 26. These dates need checking. Pollen says that Brade has written asking Murray to alter his despatch so that it may be published. It is evidently desired that Murray should eliminate the summary of his instructions with which his despatch opens. Pollen advises him to refuse unless he gets a written order, as otherwise the politicians will declare that he wrote what he pleased. Went to see Lewis Butler at Lloyd's Bank. He showed me a good letter from his son, who is adjutant of the 2nd K.R.R. which was destroyed in the recent affair at Nieuport. It seems to show that the German heavies were not properly opposed, and that neither aircraft nor ships brought any help.

Went on to talk with another man about Haig's Flanders offensive. He showed me the map with Haig's objectives marked on it in different colours as usual, and with a red line showing what we had won in

yesterday's attack. We had gained all three objectives over two-thirds of the front attacked, and on the other third we had not quite reached our last objective on our right centre, and had more than reached it on our left and on the French front. We had engaged 12 divisions and the Germans 11, but ours were of 12 battalions and the Huns of 9, while our battalions were 1000 strong—I wonder if they were ?—and the Huns 700. The rain was very unfortunate. We had been ready on July 24, but the French were not, and we had to wait for them. It is thought that the German guns were a good way back, as at Messines, for prudential reasons. The whole ground is a perfect maze of trenches and defended posts. My friend thought that the main interest was our methodical manner of conducting these attacks which were now systematised.

I met another authority later. He was very pleased about the battle. He gave the Huns 16 divisions in the fight. We had only used 12, and we had 50 in all for subsequent operations. But we were now 20,000 down in the aggregate in France, or 30,000 allowing for 10,000 casualties, and the War Cabinet would do nothing to get more men, at least nothing serious. We had mountains of shells, but now not enough guns to fire them, and we were slacking off production. We had 2200 field guns in the fight and many heavies, perhaps 4000 guns in all—he did not know the exact number. The French had 600 guns with their 1st Army, which was in two Army corps each of three divisions, the whole under General Anthoine. They had only a small sector of the attack. Our airmen had done well, but the fighting had been very stiff. The repair of guns was causing some anxiety. He had seen Gough recently. Gough had said that his orders were to get as far on as he could, but that when he encountered organised resistance he was to sit down to organised attack. On such lines we should do well. It is thought that the Huns will hate the battle, and we mean to do a lot more before we finish. It is intended to give Murray a good post in a few weeks' time. I recommended the job of preparing for demobilisation and

for the creation of the organisation which we should need after the war. My friend told me that Allenby had lost his only son in France. He did not think that the Russians would make peace. The Huns had been alarmed at the Russian offensive, and had hurried a few divisions to the East. The Russians had run away although three times as strong. My friend rather hoped that the Huns might get themselves tied up in the autumn by advancing into Russia. All our guns sent to Russia were at Moscow. The Huns had not yet made a claim of guns captured. The Paris Conference had been planned to allow the Balkan representatives to talk. There was no change, but the conference would continue here to-morrow. Pétain is much liked, but neither he nor Foch can do anything without the politicians. Foch had said everything that L. G. hated most.

Saturday, August 4. Sir David Beatty had written in answer to a letter from me that he would like to see me, and I had an invitation to stay with Lady Mar at Alloa, which is within easy motoring distance of Rosyth, where the Grand Fleet now lies. So I left London at 9.30 A.M. to-day and reached Alloa at 8.30 P.M. There were great crowds at the chief junctions, Crewe, Carlisle, etc. The country is looking remarkably well, and the crops everywhere seem to promise a bountiful harvest, while the grasslands are covered with cattle, and I saw few signs of wheat in the hunting shires. At Alloa I found Lord Hardinge of Penshurst and his daughter Diamond, and Miss Magdalen Rycroft. Had a good gossip with Lady Mar after dinner. Theresa Lady Londonderry coming to-morrow.

Sunday, August 5. A long talk of war and politics with Lady Mar in the morning. Alloa House is a large and comfortable building dating from 1860. It is on the outskirts of the town, but is shielded from it by woods and grounds. There are some fine pictures, including three Raeburns, a couple of good Van Goyens, and various Lely and Janssen portraits. Lady M., Hardinge, and I motored

over to Admiralty House, Rosyth, to lunch with Admiral Sir Frederick Hamilton and his wife. The Duke of Connaught and Princess Patricia were there, Count Michael Torby, and various naval officers and some wives, besides two Miss Hamiltons. A fine view of the Forth from the balcony, which resembles the stern-walk of a ship. The battleships are lying above the bridge in two columns, stretching as far as the eye can see. Smaller craft and submarines are on each side of them. The battle cruisers and light squadrons lie below the bridge. The Admiral says that when the Grand Fleet reached the Forth it stretched over seven miles of water. The *Queen Elizabeth* is now Beatty's flagship, and she lies at the head of the port wing. The balcony is a regular sun-trap, and it was like a day on the Riviera. The view of the Grand Fleet was most grim and impressive.

A pleasant talk at lunch. The Duke criticised an early portrait of Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, Lady Hamilton's father, because it had the decorations put on irregularly. We talked soldiering recollections after lunch. The Duke was angry at the Censor having interfered with the issue of the *R.B. Chronicle*, but was pleased that I had arranged the matter, thanks to Sammy Scott. The Admiral says that our new microphone stations can now detect submarines two to three miles distant, and he wants me to see Captain Ryan who has charge of them. When a submarine is detected she is hunted by destroyers, motor boats, and seaplanes. The value of the motor boat is that all its engines can be easily stopped, and this allows the microphone to work, whereas on a destroyer there are many auxiliary engines, not so easily silenced. When the submarine dives we use depth charges to destroy her.

Lady M. told me this morning that Beatty says that all the Jutland plans hitherto published are inaccurate, and that he has the correct plans. We motored on after lunch to Aberdour, the Beattys' house, a quite old, stone, stucco, and tiled house with a view of the Firth from the house and lawn. We found David Beatty playing tennis, and he

plays very well. He has not much changed since Nile days except that he is a trifle thicker and has more lines on his face, but he is as active as ever, is full of life and fun, and his brown hair, parted in the middle and brushed back, speaks of youth. He looks up at one in the old way, with the right eye almost closed and the left only showing a peephole. Lady Beatty was there, and Mrs. Godfrey-Faussett, and there turned up for tennis various naval officers, besides King Manuel who was doing a tour of his orthopaedic hospitals. The Admiral says that he has enjoyed Carson's regular visits, but that he has to keep on training the new Sea Lords. I said that I hoped the Flanders operations might tempt to sea the German Fleet. The Admiral thought that what with mines and submarines these were our waters, and that the Huns would seek more open waters if they had a fling at us. He was not of the opinion that the Hun would not come out. He thought that all his inclinations were to fight, and that while the defeat of the Huns would alter nothing materially, a German victory would have immense consequences and would hearten up the Hun to go on for another year. The Admiral said that he had fifty-two couple of ships in the Forth and that fourteen couple were out seeking adventures. The Fleet here is, he said, nearer to its probable objectives than at Scapa, and would not be much delayed in putting to sea, but Scapa is the best place for training. His observation balloons of the Army pattern, which I saw in the air, were, he said, new since Jutland, and they can remain in the air and carry out observations in a forty-knot wind while a ship is running twenty knots. Neither we nor the Huns had such help at Jutland. The Huns know that we have them because we use them for hunting submarines, for which they are quite useful. I asked about the dirigibles. D. B. says that the enemy has still the monopoly of the best air scouting in good weather, when one Zeppelin can do as much as five or six cruisers. When the fleet came here from Scapa it was accompanied by some of the new small dirigibles, but D. B. could not wireless to them as wireless messages were closed

down during the move. They pitched and tossed a good deal, but D. B. hopes that they may be of use some day. The large dirigibles have not yet come along, and B. thinks that they have been messed about and that people do not appreciate their importance even now.

Madame Dubois, a fortune-teller, was in the house when we came. I did not see her, but she saw Lady Mar and told her that she would soon marry again. Lord Mar is still fit and well, and we shall not be able to tell the story at Alloa. All the Admirals in turn went to see the fortune-teller at a bazaar held here yesterday, and B. was most amusing on the subject. He described how the Admirals all came out from their consultation with the lady, looking flushed and pleased, and with a glint in their eyes, showing that the lady had prophesied great careers for them all.

Motoring to Aberdour and back, Hardinge and I talked. He seems to think that Sir Eric Geddes has been made First Lord in order to carry out some necessary changes, and possibly to change the First Sea Lord. He tells me that the Foreign Office has expanded from 150 persons to 1150, and that the original nucleus controls the rest. We thought that if other departments had expanded similarly it would have been better than creating a host of new departments which interfered with each other and were not co-ordinated. I had given a review of the three years of the war in the *Times* of last Saturday, Aug. 4, and had criticised our War Cabinets. H. agreed that the absence of the First Lord, War Secretary, and Foreign Secretary from the War Cabinet is absurd. Hardinge is impressed with the value of the G.S. under Robertson, and he values Maurice and Macdonogh as much as I do. He asked me much about Pétain and Nivelle, and I promised to show him the diary of my last voyage to France H. agrees that the Salonika expedition is the worst fault that we have made during the war.

We discussed India. He and Lady Mar thought that the Durbar was their most astonishing experience in India. H. wishes to retain the Kitchener Army system in India. He considers it strange that the Mesopotamia Report

should never have alluded to the failure of the Q.M.G. branch at Simla, and I entirely agree. He wishes the Indian cadets to be sent to Indian Sandhursts when they get King's Commissions, and says that they will do no good here and have nowhere to go for the holidays.

Monday, Aug. 6. Motored to Rosyth. Am impressed by the manner in which apparently any one can enter the dockyard. The Admiral's launch met me and took me to the flagship. I lunched with him, his boys, and various naval officers, including Brock his chief of staff, and Brand his secretary. Before lunch we had a good talk walking up and down the quarter-deck of the *Queen Elizabeth*, which has great length and breadth and is unobstructed. He told me that he had 32 battleships to the German 27, but that as the enemy can decide when to fight, B. has to reckon without 3 of his ships which will normally be under repair, giving him 29 against the German 27, but of course ours are better ships, and many improvements have been made since Jutland. He has all the battle cruisers with the Grand Fleet. Tyrwhitt is under the Admiralty, but B. has an understanding with Tyrwhitt that the latter will come under him if the German Fleet comes out. I was surprised to find that Beatty knows absolutely nothing of our defensive arrangements ashore, is not in touch with any military authority, and has not even a liaison officer with Robertson or Lord French. He would like one, but at present he does not know anything about home defence ashore or whether we have ten men or an Army corps at one place or another. This after three years of war! Beatty has no real intelligence service of his own, and has to trust the Admiralty to keep him informed. Beatty hopes, however, that he will hear automatically if the German Fleet comes out. I am sure I hope he may. It might interest him.

I asked about the scouting service for the local protection of the Grand Fleet. He says that he has his cruisers and patrols 150 miles out, and in the Forth there are three lines of nets, one at the bridge, and two more below where the

battle cruisers lie. Subsequently I passed over one of them in a launch, and imagine that a surprise attack by motor launches armed with torpedoes might get through so far as the nets are concerned. We discussed invasion and raids. Beatty said that he did not intend to hurry post-haste to the spot if England were invaded. No doubt he intends to cut off the German Fleet from its bases if he can and to force a decisive action. He says that he will not admit any theory, nor accept any ruling, that he can be on the spot in 36 or 72 hours, or any other time. He says that it may be more or less. He is out for a big throw with his Fleet, and supposes that the Army can deal with any such invasion as can come. He does not believe in it, but rather hopes that it may come. This may all be perfectly sound, but meanwhile it is comical to think of all the profound calculation made by the Home Defence staff on the basis of naval support within fixed numbers of hours, and the utter futility and baselessness of the whole arrangement, or want of arrangement. What an extraordinary people we are!

Beatty says that he likes Sir Eric Geddes, and thinks that he will be able to work with him. He believes him to be a man anxious to win the war, and with no axe of his own to grind. But he says that Geddes has upset all the Controller's branch at the Admiralty, and has now left it to sort itself out as best it may. B. says that Jellicoe had great qualities especially for administration and detail, and B. added that we all had defects. The Fleet itself, said B., is all right, and he agrees with Robertson that a table-man is needed at Whitehall as First Sea Lord. The Army had taken the Admiralty framework and had then covered the dry bones with flesh and blood. The Admiralty had never done so, and hence all the trouble.

Beatty refuses to count upon ship for ship superiority as Winston did. He prefers to keep this as something up his sleeve, and says that if we and the Germans each lose an equal number of ships in a fight we shall lose more: he therefore prefers to count by units. He is consulted

about the selection of admirals and captains in the Grand Fleet. B.'s quarters are aft in the *Q. E.* There is a dining cabin able to hold about twenty people, with good engravings of the old admirals hung round it. His own sitting-room is aft again. It has a regular fireplace lit by electricity, with a club fender on which one can sit. There is a large sofa, a writing table, a desk, and a few other tables and chairs, with vases of flowers, one of which I upset, on the tables. It is very comfortable, and one has to remember that the Admiral has for three years not slept away from his ship except when he once visited London on naval business. He has a firm and decided way of talking which is attractive. The peak of his cap is of unusual size, and he wears his cap usually cocked over his eyes, or on the back of his head, or anywhere except at the normal angle.

The flag lieutenant showed me round the ship, which was spotlessly clean and painted a lighter grey than in time of peace, but the f.l. thought that the ships were still too dark and that a cream colour, almost white, was best for day work. I agreed with this, but on reflection am not sure whether the colour matters much with such constantly varying lights by day and night. At present the paint is the grey of an Ascot gown for a girl of eighteen. I was surprised to see so much wood about the ship. None of it seemed to have been removed. We entered the turret, and the 15-in. gun, with its projectile weighing a ton, was manœuvred for me. The 6-in. batteries were like a lady's boudoir, so neat and spick and span were they. All the arrangements for firing the great guns were explained to me. I was shown the conning tower, which is a rare box of tricks, and the navigating bridge. There is no post that seems to me very satisfactory for an Admiral. The control station seems to me his best place for a general view. That of the *Q. E.* was being altered, and I think that Beatty is preparing for himself a bridge like that of the *Lion*. The smart appearance of the flagship is partly due to the fact that she is an oil ship, but my guide said that when no coaling

had to be done the want of hard manual labour was much felt, and that the men were getting beefy for want of it.

The men looked well, but not so hard, fit, and bronzed as our soldiers. The Admiral told me that the men were not suffering from strain now, and they certainly showed no signs of it at all. They looked in fact as if a twenty-mile route march would have done them a rare lot of good. The battleships only put to sea once or twice a month, but work of different sorts goes on of course every day. Beatty told me that the blowing up of the *Vanguard* in the midst of the Fleet, leaving not a wrack behind, had been most terrible, and that he was not sorry to divert men's minds by a change of surroundings from Scapa to the Forth. Sailors prefer Scapa, or at least the officers do, because neither drink nor women can be found there, and all the training can go on. I must try to see Tyrwhitt and the light craft to find out whether the strain on them is great. I must say that so far as the Grand Fleet is concerned, a soldier seems to me to endure more in a day than the average sailor does in a month.

Such intelligence service as the *Q. E.* has is confined in a small dark den. I had a talk with the few officers there and thought the intelligence seemed elementary. Every ship comes into dock every nine months for overhaul, and the impression left upon me by the material is that it is in very good order and not at all worn. I do not see, from the point of view of naval material or men, why this war should not go on for ever. I went off next to the submarine K 7, Commander Kellett, which is one of the latest type. She is 339 feet long, and I think 1300 tons displacement, with 4 bow and 4 beam tubes, and with sixteen 21-in. torpedoes carried in all. She can submerge in 2½ minutes, and her speed is 24 knots on the surface and 10 submerged. Her class is intended to accompany the Fleet, which will thus have many fresh advantages if it fights again. I was taken round the ship. There is a very narrow gangway in the interior, only just enabling one man at a time to pass along it. We traversed compartment after compartment,

each a complete box of tricks. There are only two periscopes from which one obtains what seems to me a very moderate view of the sea and objects on it, and they seem to be capable of great improvement. The periscopes are near to each other, and there are no spare ones. The two masts for the wireless disappear into the ship on the pocket-pencil system. There is only one 3-in. gun on deck, and it remains where it is when the vessel is submerged and seems to come to no harm. There are positions for two 4-in. guns, but the guns have been removed for the armament of merchant ships! I was told by the commander that the torpedoes are bad, and that recently he had a sitting shot at a German submarine and that his torpedoes ran like porpoises, jumping up and down, and finally diving under the hostile craft.

I was amused by stories of Sir W. Robertson aboard the submarines. After seeing a small type in which he could scarcely move or breathe or stand, R. worked his way aft and out. He then turned to the commander and asked if he liked the life. The commander said he did, whereupon R. gave a grunt and a glance, and said, 'Umph, well you 're d—d easily pleased.' In visiting the K 7 R. stuck in a tight place where I had a difficulty in wedging my way through a narrow spiral kind of hole. The commander, who was in front, seized R.'s leg and tried to plant the foot belonging to it in the right place, but R. resisted stoutly and would not let the leg go. There was a tug of war for the leg, and at last the commander had to let go owing to the explosive language of the C.I.G.S. which threatened to sink the K 7.

Captain Little, of the mother boat of the flotilla, came on board with his wife, and we all had an excellent tea in a very decent ward room, alias gangway. There were heaps of cakes and jams. There is even a bathroom for the crew on this boat. The men get 2s. 6d. a day extra pay, and only one or two fresh hands are taken on at a time. The boat is said to roll fearfully in a seaway, the roll only takes $2\frac{3}{4}$ seconds. I am told that the director system of

control was only fitted to a few ships at the outbreak of war, whereas every German ship had it, and their fire was faster, more accurate, and better concentrated on objectives in turn than was ours. Our battle cruiser squadron fire, for example, is now said to be 60 per cent. better than it was. Our submarines now go and lie up on the probable routes of outgoing and incoming German submarines and try to catch them. Here the microphones are valuable. The officers thought that if we had possessed good mines we could have prevented the German craft from putting to sea. Now we have a few good mines which cannot be swept, and they go off, at any time an hour after being placed, by the vibration of the engines of ships passing within their zone of explosion. This ought to worry the Huns a good deal.

I asked why it was, since the submarine was known before the war, that nothing had been done to overcome her. The Admiral had told me that Winston's claim to have overcome her was an idle boast, as the submarine was not a serious menace at the opening of the war. The submarine officers thought that their service had not been in existence long enough to bring to the top of affairs men who understood it, and so their standpoint failed to secure adequate recognition and understanding. It is thought that nothing larger than the K 7 will be built during the war. The 21-in. torpedoes range up to 7000 yards, but the endeavour always is to secure a 1000 yards range before firing. I should mention that on the *Q. E.* all the 15-in. guns can be fired together from the control station, or by individual pairs of guns, or by single guns. In case the control is carried away there are other methods of firing, but the central control gives by far the best results. The splash of hostile shells which fall short drenches the conning tower and bridge with spray, and the conning tower is not a very good place from which to handle a ship in action. The periscopes of the submarine are not obscured by being under the water, which rather cleanses them. They are only obscured by spray, and submerging cleans them.

Tuesday, August 7. Another talk with Hardinge this morning. We discussed our tonnage losses. We have lost over 1500 merchant ships and nearly 600 fishing boats since the war began, with a net tonnage of 4,774,000. Over 2,000,000 tons have been lost in the last six months, February to July 1917 inclusive. Our other Allies and the neutrals have lost between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 tons. The total losses of Allies and neutrals are 8,105,000 tons since the war began and up to the end of July. These figures are at present quite unknown to the country. The great mass of the loss is due to submarines, and I think that about one-fifth is put down to mines. The losses due to enemy cruisers is insignificant by comparison. H. thinks that 50 per cent. of the Territorials sent to India had D.P. rifles only. They were without a change of clothing. Their 15 pr. guns had ammunition marked 'not to be used for practice, and to be regarded as an extra war risk on service'! The Territorials became fine troops in six months. Hardinge asked my opinion about the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and a possible American guardianship. I said that I was for it, as the least dangerous of all the solutions, and he was for it too. He says that the Cabinet cabled to him in September 1914 that they had agreed to place all the military resources of India under Lord K. Hardinge had protested, and had said that they had been placed under him by Act of Parliament and could only be withdrawn from him by another Act, but in this case he would refuse to be responsible for maintaining order since he would be deprived of the means for doing so. This caused the Cabinet to collapse. H. tells me that he visited a small shipyard yesterday and found all the materials arriving for the standardised ships, each part plainly marked, and he was told that if the engines could be obtained the ships could be built in five months.

In the afternoon we motored over to see the Torby girls and their husbands. A jolly party in the garden of a charming house, and with them were the younger Battenberg and Michael Torby. I found it difficult to remember all their new names, but Nada Torby who married Prince

George of Battenberg is now Lady Medina, and on his cabin is the name Lieutenant Medina. They say that some one introduced her the other day as 'the late Princess George of Battenberg.' We ate fruit in a fine kitchen garden. There is only one gardener: the house party have to garden also. Coming home Magdalen Rycroft drove the small Ford car; we nearly killed two cyclists, and M. R. said unconcernedly that the car had run away with her.

Wednesday, August 8. Lady Londonderry—who joined our party at Alloa on Sunday—Lord Hardinge, and I motored over to Rosyth, and were taken to the *Lion* battle cruiser in a launch by Flag-lieutenant Spicer. She was lying below the Forth Bridge, and this great structure looked colossal as we passed under it. Lunched with Admiral Pakenham, his staff, and some ladies. Hardinge and I went round the ship afterwards. The 'Battle Cruiser Fleet' has now become the 'Battle Cruiser Force,' which will amuse Arthur Balfour, who wondered what Beatty would do about it, and whether he would preserve the two separate fleets. It has two divisions of battle cruisers and four of light cruisers. To the latter Admiral Napier has just been appointed, and it is a popular service. There are destroyers and K submarines with the B.C. Force. An interesting captain of the *Lion*; and I also met Captain Heaton Ellis who has been naval attaché at Paris and is returning there. The Admiral was very flattering about my articles and about old papers which I had written while military attaché years ago. The captain of the *Lion* had been with Callaghan when the latter tried to defend England in the manœuvres of 1912. He said that my 'Colonel von Donner und Blitzen' letters had correctly represented their view of their case in the problem set to them—an amusing commentary on the sneers of the amateur naval strategists at the time.

The anchorage below the bridge is said to be very bad in November and later, and very rough at times. Scapa is preferred as it is not so crowded, whereas here, if an anchor drags, a ship taken by the tide may be on the top of her

neighbour very quickly. I asked the captain about the torpedoes. He said that they were all right, but that when fired from a submarine the boat must be absolutely trimmed, otherwise, if the nose of the submarine is pointing upwards, the torpedo will rise to the surface and begin to porpoise. The captain and Spicer took us round parts of the *Lion*. Beatty fought the first part of the Dogger Bank from the conning tower, where there are usually some twenty people during a fight, but he found the view too restricted, and the splash of the enemy's 'shorts' made it difficult to see. So he went up to the bridge which has no armour, and only some mattress protection, and there also he fought the Jutland fight. No bridge or mast has yet been carried away. The *Lion* is not so smart as the *Q. E.*, but she takes coal, and that makes a lot of difference. I saw the new 'otter' torpedo which is being used as I suggested in *Blackwood* in 1910. It is smaller than the ordinary torpedo, and I am told that the system works well. Pakenham looks like a Spanish grandee. He always sleeps fully dressed, with stiff collar and shirt and all. Napier is said to be a big man in appearance like a Viking.

In the evening at Alloa we discussed the Prince of Wales's marriage to a non-royal person. H., Mar, and the Ladies M. and L. strongly opposed it, affirming that it would ultimately mean the ruin of the Monarchy when all the shabby relatives —there always are such people—of the family honoured, claimed cousinship with the King. I thought that if King Cophetua married a beggar maid it would be immensely popular, but I was in a minority of one.

We began talking of Germany. Hardinge told us that after my divulgation of the Kaiser's letter to Tweedmouth[1] he was authorised to pay a large sum for the original, but that he was just too late, as it had been already sold. The F.O. had the letter now. H. said that my action in revealing the letter was not only correct but a very great public service, and that had the letter been published at the time, the Asquith Government must have been

[1] For the text of this letter, see *Vestigia* (Constable and Co.).

upset as the letter was so much worse than any one imagined. Hardinge said that after this affair he had accompanied King Edward to Germany. The King had been commissioned to speak to the Kaiser in the sense of a paper drawn up by the Cabinet, telling the Kaiser that if he interfered any more with our naval matters, war might result. King Edward was with the Kaiser all one morning, but he had talked of everything else except the famous letter, and had then told Hardinge to do the work for him. So H. had taken it on and had spoken to the Kaiser very plainly in the sense of the Cabinet minute. King Edward looked on from a distance, watching the scene closely. I don't think that Hardinge minced matters. The Kaiser was extremely angry, and his suite saw his anger and would not speak to H. But eventually the Kaiser calmed down, and in the end gave H. the Grand Cross of the Red Eagle, which H. did not want but thought it politic to advise the King that he should accept.

Thursday, August 9. I talked Paris with Hardinge in the morning. I said that I had been surprised to hear him say that Frank Bertie was the best-informed man in Paris. H. said that M. Cambon was of the opinion which he had stated, and that Jules Cambon also agreed with it. Bertie, he said, wrote home a great number of excellent letters. He was heart and soul for the war and for France, and H. thought it right to support him if only for this reason. H. also thought that international finance was opposed to Bertie and fostered the intrigues against him. I said that the Paris Embassy showed no sign of life, and that it ought to be and might be made a centre of social and political life in Paris, and that what was needed was a *grand seigneur* who knew how to do things properly and had the wherewithal to do them. H. said that there was certainly no diplomatist of outstanding merit in our service, and we agreed that the danger was that some used-up politician might be unloaded into the Embassy to get rid of him. H. asked whether any one was in my mind for the post. I said Lord Londonderry, who had the means necessary to

make the Embassy all it should be, and that he and his wife presented well and had the qualities necessary for the work. We agreed that a great *diplomat de carrière* was not needed now, as missions went over the water on every sort of occasion. Even then the Embassy did not take them in, not even the P.M., and that it was quite wrong. H. said that Bertie ought to insist upon L. G. going to him.

We then talked of Hardinge's own position. I said that I did not see how he could be spared from the F.O. until the completion of the peace negotiations. H. agreed, and said that he was busy preparing the machinery for the Congress. He had listed secretaries, clerks, and typists who knew French, and he had ready a complete printing press to take over, and even safes for documents. All was ready. He had even made preparations for a separate peace with Turkey, and had drafted a memorandum to serve as a basis for negotiations. I said that this news pleased me very much and that it was good staff work, but that the names of the negotiators must be a great worry to him. H. thought that L. G. would insist upon going to take the lead and would not trust any one else. Balfour should certainly go. I said that Lansdowne would be invaluable, and ought to be kept in cotton wool for the event.

H. agreed, but said that Austen Chamberlain spoke French well, and had never been used at the Conferences. C. thought that L. G. had intended to send Chamberlain to Paris, but that now he was out of the Government he might not worry about him, and H. did not know how the matter stood at present. Respecting the Embassy itself, H. admitted my idea that it should become a great social centre, but said that £11,000 a year was allowed for the Embassy, and that this was enough to enable an Ambassador to do things well. The F.O., he said, was now pretty well manned. Crowe was fit to take H.'s place, but owing to his German relatives he could not, in the present state of public opinion, be given the post nor

be sent abroad as Ambassador. The F.O. contemplated a great trade department after the war with Crowe at its head, and H. believes that the Associated Chambers of Commerce would support the plan, even if the Board of Trade fought it. H. said that he had called home Ronald Graham from Egypt. He was a real good man, and if H. eventually went to Paris, Graham could succeed him after another year of training. Sir George Clerk was also an excellent man, Vansittart quite good, and Max-Muller very clever.

Drove with Lady Mar to see her open a bazaar near by. She made an excellent speech and was very well received, many nice things being said about her work for Clackmannan and Kinross. Miss Christie, lady of the manor, and a great traveller in Central Asia, presided.

Friday, Aug. 10. Took leave of my kind host and hostess after a most enjoyable week and with real regret. Travelled as far south as Carlisle with the Hardinges, and the Mars sent with us a sumptuous lunch. I like Hardinge and trust him. I put him down as a straight fearless man who is working for the good of the country alone, and I am glad to have met him away from London and to have exchanged ideas with him.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE HARWICH NAVAL FORCES, SEPTEMBER 1917

Sir W. Robertson on the horrible Low Country positions—General Pétain's victory at Verdun—Italian successes—The American arrivals —Colonel Mola on Italy's need of steel—A talk with Russian friends on Russian affairs—A bad raid on Chatham—Down to Parkeston Quay to visit Commodore Sir R. Tyrwhitt—The *Centaur*—System of naval command on the coast—Tyrwhitt's forces—German and British minefields—They fail to stop German submarines, but they stop us— The Dutch trade convoy—The new light-cruiser class—Tyrwhitt's formation while cruising—The Porte flying ships—An early Council of War at the Admiralty—The Commodore not informed about our military arrangements.

Sunday to Sunday, Aug. 12 *to* 19. On Wednesday the 15th, appeared in the *Times* my article about the Grand Fleet under the title of 'The Vigil.' Monday, I saw Montmorency, R.F.A., who is back to claim the Frankfort peerage. He said that his battery fired 35,000 shells in the Arras-Bullecourt operations, and that guns now held on for 14,000 rounds instead of the 6000 we expected formerly. Tuesday, I lunched with Lady Cunard: the Duchess of Marlborough, Lady Gwendeline, Wolkoff, Sir A. Sinclair, and A. Kerr-Clark. Dined with Lady Randolph the same night. Winston there, looking a different man since he returned to office. I never saw any one so changed, and to such advantage, in so short a time. On Wednesday, the Canadians took Hill 70 and a good slice north of Loos, with 3000 casualties as it turned out. I dined Wednesday at Mrs. Leeds's again. A fresh attack on our part east of Ypres on the 16th, Thursday, Langemarck and other points taken, but on our right not much progress. I saw Islington at the India Office the same

day, and we discussed the question of the King's Commissions for Indians, which I propose to support though every one in the Army hates it. It is a political necessity.

Dined with Lady Cunard on Friday 17 : General Brancker of the Flying Corps, the Italian Ambassador and his wife, Lady Gwendeline, the Duchess of Marlborough, and Sir Thomas Beecham. The latter played well after dinner upon a hard and unresponsive piano. Saw a Revue on Saturday called 'Round the Map.' In spite of our great losses lately, especially in officers, the house was full, and people who wished to get tickets for the evening were being turned away in shoals. War has become part of the natural law of our being, and people go about as though no war was.

Monday, Aug. 20. Lunched at the Bath Club with Sir W. Robertson. He had been over to France for twenty-four hours and returned on Friday last. He admitted that the Low Country positions which I had warned him and others about were pretty horrible, but of course they had been made worse by the rain. All had been ready to go on after the attack on July 31, but since then the rain had prevented the movement, and of course the enemy had been able to replace his beaten divisions and to wire his new ground afresh. This was hard luck on Haig. The Germans had withdrawn 22 divisions for repairs, of which 11 had been withdrawn on the Langemarck front, which was only one-third of our whole front of attack. We had withdrawn 11 on all our front, mainly because of the drenching which they had had, and of course some of the German withdrawals may have been for the same reasons. The French this morning had attacked on both banks of the Meuse at Verdun, and up to 8 A.M. had taken 2000 prisoners. R. hoped that the number might be increased to 10,000 and thought that Pétain, who had 18 divisions in the fight, and more hanging about, had a good chance of a fine success. The Italians had taken 4700 prisoners : their right had done better than their left. Only the 1918 German class had yet been found in the field. G.H.Q. had reported the 1919 class among the prisoners, but on cross-examination it turned out to be

one man only, and he could not be found. But the French had not yet put in their 1918 class. Though the Germans were putting in their boys of 18, R. did not wish us to put in ours of 18 years 8 months, as some people wished. He would wait till they were 19, and he judged by his own boy who was still only a boy. I agreed and added that it would be better now to keep them at home in barracks till the spring, and send our B and C men into the trenches. If the boys were sent into the trenches for the winter, I thought that many would crack up and would lose their fire by the spring. R. thought this a good idea, and I added that of course it all depended on how we were off for men, and that I had not inquired into this matter lately. R. said that we were about 50,000 infantry down in France in the aggregate, but this meant a larger deficit proportionately at the actual front. If we were not more down it was because of our estimated losses of 100,000 men a month had not been reached lately. We had only lost 50,000 since July 31. But we would certainly be much more down before the end of October, though he had just scraped up 21,000 men of all sorts at home and was sending them out, and was not enlisting men for cavalry and engineers.

I asked about his 500,000 A men by August. He said that everybody knew that they had not been obtained. I denied this, and asked how people could know if they were not told, and that I did not know. R. said that nearly two-thirds had been obtained. Smuts and Milner formed a sub-committee of the War Cabinet to look after Man-Power, but Milner was all for men for agriculture, and we were just giving him 80,000 whom he said he could not do without. The War Cabinet tried to make out that the country could not find more men, but R. did not agree with them. R. admitted L. G.'s difficulties, but still we could not win battles without men. R. said, in reply to a question from me, that the War Cabinet were all right about peace and meant to see the thing through, but war was a hard business, and the Cabinet was not very well manned for waging war. I told him that the W.O. and Derby would soon be attacked

on the subject of men. I said that I knew that the G.S. had warned the War Cabinet time after time and no later than Saturday last, but this had been going on for ten months, and the question was why the Army Council did not insist. However, I said that Lovat Fraser was just off to France, and I would see whether we could not concoct something.

Munitions, said R., were coming along well, but the 18 pounders were still behind owing to the arming of the merchant ships. The Americans had only 25,000 men in France, and the French idea that there would be 500,000 in the spring was absurd. Ten divisions was all that R. counted on, and that would only be half the 500,000. He said that the French were planting down the American divisions at different places, as they had wished to plant ours. The first American division was not expected to be fit to go into the line before Christmas. I asked about Salonika. R. said that he was getting another division away and that it would arrive at Gaza next month. Allenby had wanted it this month, but it could not be done. Allenby would get all the men and guns that he had asked for, and R. hoped that he would give the Turks a good leathering. It was not yet sure which way the Turkish divisions at Aleppo would go, Gaza or Bagdad. It was not true that there were any German divisions on these fronts. There were only some German leaders and a few machine-gun companies. Maude was all right, and had been pretty well fitted out as he wished. Maude had nowhere to go to now, and R. doubted how the Turks would feed their men, in spite of the talk of motor transport for them. We then discussed the Navy, and R. agreed that it would be good to have a smart liaison officer with Beatty, and promises to see to it. He should be a man able to help Beatty in organisation. I told R. about views regarding invasion, and of the improbability of Beatty doing anything but hunt the German Navy. R. said that Beatty wanted to be a member of the War Staff, and R. totally disagreed with this view.

R. thought that there was nothing for us but to go on.

Haig thought that he was killing a lot of Germans. The armies were ready to go on to the Rhine, but R. had found sane views to prevail at G.H.Q. at his last visit. By only advancing 1000 yards at a time we covered our men well by our guns, and when the enemy counter-attacked he suffered severely. The German guns, being kept far back, did not help so much as ours. The Russians were counting upon us to go on, and so were the Italians. It was not worth while waiting till the spring if only ten American divisions would then be in line. We must keep on hitting the enemy, and should in time get to the bottom of him. R. has views for Murray in Home Defence, and seems disposed to make changes here. He also wonders whether he should not make some changes at the War Office, where men had been working all the three years without a break. We discussed King's Commissions for India, which I have supported in the *Times* of this morning. We both disliked the idea, and did not conceal from ourselves that it was a revolutionary change. The Army Council had been consulted, but had not expressed any opinion, as the Cabinet knew the whole matter and it was one for their decision. Carson and Long in the Cabinet were against the change, and Curzon strongly for it. In any case the Cabinet had approved the change.

Tuesday, Aug. 21. Lunched at the Italian Embassy in Grosvenor Square with the Imperialis: Ansaldo Pallavicino, and two de Salis boys, back wounded from France, also there. A good talk with the Ambassador. He was very sarcastic about the Russian Revolution and our delight with it when it came about. We were all delighted with Cadorna's success this week on the Carso. The eldest de Salis says that Cardinal Gasparri is the centre of Papal activity at Rome, and that Father Langdon, Cardinal Gasquet's secretary, is very capable. Imperiali thought that the Pope wishes to dish the Socialists by taking up his present attitude about peace. Pallavicino said that Cadorna had diverted much of the Isonzo into another river, and that consequently the Italian troops were able to cross the river on a broad front and to wade it in parts. A lot of talk of British and

Italian politics. In the evening I went down to the *Times* and arranged with Lovat Fraser, who goes to France on Thursday, that he should look carefully into the question of men, and that the *Times* should then, if necessary, commit a calculated indiscretion. Geoffrey Dawson—as our editor now calls himself—joined us, and I told him that people doubted whether he would help owing to his intimate relations with Milner, who was on the manning sub-committee of the Cabinet. I told him how the Army stood for men, and it was agreed that Fraser should go over, ascertain all the facts in France if he could, and then see Milner and Geddes after his return. We shall see. I do not much care for parleying with the War Cabinet when we may have to attack them.

Wednesday, Aug. 22. Lunched with a friend at Claridge's. In the dumps because her sitting to Laszlo this morning had been a failure. L. had been in a fury about something. The dress chosen by L. was all wrong, and everything was wrong, and she was in despair about it. Dined with Mrs. Leeds at Kenwood. Only Lady Paget and Lady Sarah there. Lady P. and I doubled hearts and put the others 700 above the line in one hand. A story of Laszlo's arrest. No smoke without fire, and something must have occurred to account for L.'s temper to-day.

Friday, Aug. 24. Wrote an article on the military situation on all fronts. Drove down to lunch at Cambridge Cottage. Stopped to see Baron de Forest's house and pictures at Hurst House, Coombe Warren. A very pleasant house with fifty-two acres of attractive grounds and a fair view. Some quite fine pictures including three by Vandyck, a good Franz Hals, a great picture of Lot's wife by Rubens, two splendid portraits by Flinck, an attractive Holy Family by Murillo, and a great many other fine things, selected with good taste. The large Vandyck of the Buckingham family and the Rubens came from Blenheim. Much of Baron Hirsch's racing plate about.

Saturday, Aug. 25. Among the cuttings sent me to-day there are two columns from the *New Age* of the 23rd,

entirely on the eight lines of the first paragraph of my article on 'The Vigil'! A literary disquisition on my style, endeavouring to tear it to pieces, and very amusing, with much about onomatopœia, spondees, amphibrachs, etc. The writer, R. H. C., discovers apparently that my prose is verse or blank verse, I am not sure which. He reminds me of Demetrius of Scepsis, who wrote sixty books on twenty lines of Homer. In the midst of this desolating war R. H. C. attaches values not at all to the matter but only to the style. But he is amusing, and he says that the Government, he is given to understand, trembles at my periods. Perhaps because they do not know what an amphibrach is, any more than I do.

Lunched at the Ritz with Colonel Mola, head of the Italian military mission, Count Pallavicino, and another Italian officer. I gather that Cadorna would like to move on Laybach if he had enough troops, but, failing them, will try to take Trieste. Cadorna thinks that the winter will not permit the offensive on his southern front which I suggested, but Mola thinks that if we could reinforce them with guns and a few English divisions next March, much might be done in that month, and then our forces could be back in France by April for the work of next spring and summer. Mola is going to send me a memorandum on munitions to show to Winston. The Italians are still anxious about them, and think that our people are not helping them enough, while coal continues a dangerous difficulty to them. The officers were a trifle sarcastic about General Porro, and want me to go to Italy and talk with Cadorna again. They say that Boroevic has only three divisions left in reserve on the Italian front.

Saw Maurice in the morning. He says that we Allies have now knocked out 25 German divisions, and that the enemy has only 5 left in reserve intact. He says that Pétain has concluded his operation at Verdun, and that he will now move his guns to the Aisne and knock the Germans there. We shall soon start an attack again on a broader front, and he is not surprised that the enemy

should make such efforts to bar our approach to the Passchendaele Ridge. He thinks that Mackensen wished to seize the mouths of the Danube in order to bring submarines into the Black Sea, dominate it, and starve the Russians in Armenia. He told me of the capture of Monte Santo by the Italians, which is good business.

Went by train to Marlow in the afternoon and lunched with Mrs. Kay-Shuttleworth and Mrs. Bewicke, Mrs. Turner, E., and Trotter of the R.B. We then went down the Thames on a motor launch to Maidenhead, dined at Skindles's, and returned later. The river very lovely with the setting sun on the woods. This is the second time only I have been on the river since the war began : there were many more people, and plenty of khaki. Marlow and Maidenhead full of parties, but not the old stamp of people one used to see. I heard some interesting things about the endeavours of socialists to intrigue with soldiers in the camps, and about our difficulties in getting our authorities to take action against suspicious characters, chiefly aliens, of all sorts. It is due I fancy to the number of channels which reports have to go through before any executive action can be taken.

Monday, Aug. 27. Spent the afternoon at Kenwood to help Mrs. Leeds entertain forty wounded soldiers. Started them out in the grounds, but presently twenty of Mrs. Leeds's maids trooped out, many of them pretty, and each took two soldiers in hand, whereupon I thought my room preferable to my company, and went in to talk and have tea with Mrs. L. Lady Sarah and Tony Drexel turned up. Rain came on and the soldiers and maids adjourned to the servants' hall, where the men had a great dinner, called tea, provided for them. Meat and vegetables, tarts and puddings. Then they played whist and sang and smoked, the girls playing up with zest. We went down to see them at 'tea.' They could hardly tear themselves away.

Tuesday, Aug. 28. Geoffrey Dawson lunched with me at the N. and M., and we had a long talk about public

affairs. It is agreed that I write on the Italian battle and on Verdun, and go to France in two or three weeks. Fraser's journey to France somewhat of a failure. He had not seen any generals nor had he learned anything about the men. He is very irate at his treatment, and thinks that G. A. has queered his pitch.

Wednesday, Aug. 29. An exasperating experience. Wrote a good and long article about the Verdun victory. A *Times* boy messenger came for it, and lost it on his journey back and could not remember where. Later Geoffrey asks me to attend the boy's funeral, fixed for Saturday, after his execution.

Thursday, Aug. 30. Wrote an article on Cadorna's success and sent it off. No news of the Verdun article. Colonel Mola sent to me this morning a short paper on Italy's need of steel. It says that the use of medium-sized guns has greatly increased and that the number of rounds wanted is very large; that Italy does not produce all the steel required for these shells, but that there are some factories in a position to forge the billets and a great number to machine the forgings if the raw material is supplied. He says that the deliveries of the quantity asked for the first half of 1917 has been nearly completed, but that the requirements for the two last quarters of this year, *i.e.* 23,280 tons of shell forgings and 32,720 tons of shell steel, put forward to the C.I.R. on July 3, and definitely on Aug. 11, have not yet been allocated. I saw Winston about this to-day, and he kept three copies of the paper which I am sending to Carson to-night, as it is the War Cabinet, according to Winston, which decides between rival claimants. I found Winston and Eddy Marsh at the Munitions Ministry. It was quite like old times. Winston in a worn grey frock-coat. Evidently delighted to be back at work and is working hard. He is fairly happy about guns and shells, and says that there will be a great further rise in the supply, and that new devilries are being invented to tease Huns. He is getting out full statements of tonnage and output of steel, and is a shopman at the orders of the War Cabinet.

He finds it all very different from the old political times, and rarely meets his colleagues. He just works all day in his office, and the work keeps him from worrying about the war. He says that the trouble with the engineers is that they do not want to fight at the front, and that, if they are made to, they will strike and upset the whole national apple-cart.

President Wilson's reply to the Pope's peace letter out to-day. A smashing indictment of Kaiserism. Winston says that Wilson personally feels a passionate fury against Prussian militarism. He has now certainly put America in up to the neck.

Friday, Aug. 31, *to Monday, Sept.* 3. Spent a delightful week-end at Seaton. Weather clearing up. The little house looking very pretty. Mrs. Harbord and her boy dined on Sunday. Went to look at Knoyle. A nice little house, high up with a lovely view eastwards along the coast. The trains crammed. Returning to London, find a nice letter from M. Cataigi, secretary of the Rumanian Legation in Paris, thanking me for my recent references to Rumania—vide the *Times* of last week—and saying that justice is not often done in the Press of the Allies to his unfortunate country, and that he conveys to me the deepest gratitude of his people. Also a letter from Lady Ridley from Blagdon. She gives me her views about the Stockholm Conference, the Labour Party, and the Pacificists, and declares that the serpent is not slain. She also says that she feels strongly that it is time that the Allies published to the world some rather definite terms in which they would treat for peace, and that it is clear that the public will not tolerate being shut out of the conference chamber, so secrecy is of no avail, and she thinks that a reasoned statement would clear the air and bring nearer the peace we want. She says that we cannot go on for ever with vague, hazy speeches, and if the Governments will not act, the democracy will. Dr. Scott-Keltie writes to ask me to take on the military sections of the *Statesman's Year Book*, but I shall write and say that enemy

armies are a matter of conjecture, and Allied armies organisation not suitable for publishing.

Tuesday, Sept. 4. Lunched with Nabokoff, Wolkoff, and General Dessino at Claridge's. We had a great talk about Russian affairs. Nabokoff considers that Kerensky will soon be a page of history which we shall turn over. He thinks that a conflict between the better elements and the Maximalists must come, and that a military dictatorship under Korniloff or some other is probable. We discussed the German capture of Riga, reported yesterday. Dessino thinks that the Huns want it for winter quarters, that bad weather comes on usually about Sept. 15, and that the Russians will destroy the railways. All of them spoke openly of the cowardice and want of discipline of their troops. A feeling prevails among them that peace will come soon, and Queen Wilhelmina was suggested as a likely channel for opening negotiations on behalf of the womanhood of the world. They think the Germans are greatly exhausted and will snatch at peace. Colonel Knox back from Russia and very pessimistic. Nabokoff declares that Russia does not want Constantinople and would not know what to do with it. He approves of the idea of an American guardianship and guarantee. Wolkoff wants Armenia to be independent, and Nabokoff is for an independent Poland. He thinks that the German African colonies are the real obstacle. I think Alsace-Lorraine, but N. thinks that this can be settled. N. says that L. G. is very nice to him, but in reply to my question how they were being treated generally he was less emphatic. They say that the Maximalists at Petrograd are now detested. It is probable that the loss of Riga will hasten their downfall. Dessino has given Sir W. R. the dates when the Russian offensive to help Maude on the Persian side will begin. Dessino says that Sukhomlinoff, the ex-War Minister who is being tried, is not a traitor, but married an extravagant wife who wanted money, so S. accepted bribes, and once having begun, went on. Mrs. Leeds and the Grand Duchess at the next table.

I had a talk with General Shaw and Brinsley FitzGerald at the Horse Guards afterwards. Shaw admits that there is no touch between French's staff and the Navy, and that there should be. The Admiralty say they will inform French's staff if there is anything that will interest them, but everything interests them, and they get nothing. I said that I thought that Tyrwhitt was the cavalry division of the Home Defence forces and ought to be in close touch with them. Shaw tells me that at Chatham last night there were 100 sailors killed and nearly as many wounded in a drill hall where men were quartered. One bomb did it all. From what Brinsley believes I expect the F.M. is not happy about our Flanders offensive. The French Ministers and Foch are over here for another conference. There is a good lot to talk about just now. I hear that some of Gough's troops have been taken from him. Our Yser offensive seems to be in the wind.

At 11.50 P.M. to-night a heavy humming of aircraft heard, a rather deep metallic note, and our guns opened in this district. For a quarter of an hour a good deal of firing, and the servants came down from their rooms to the basement. Then again at 12.35 A.M. more humming and more firing, lasting till 12.50, and the servants came down again, not in the least alarmed. The harvest moon made the night nearly as bright as day, and there was very little breeze. I went out and could see nothing of the enemy.

Wednesday, Sept. 5. Went down to Parkeston Quay, 10 A.M., to spend the day with Commodore Sir R. Tyrwhitt, R.N., commanding the Harwich naval forces. On the way to Liverpool Street I saw some of the damage done by last night's raid. A house in the Strand was wrecked and much glass broken : one bomb had fallen in a narrow street before the Charing Cross Hospital, which had just been missed. The police prevented me from going along the Embankment east of Charing Cross, so there must have been a mess there too. A large house in Queen Victoria Street near the *Times* office was internally wrecked. Stratford, and other places eastward, reported much

damaged, but only 100 killed and wounded reported at present.

Tyrwhitt met me at the station. A very attractive figure. Parkeston Quay is now given up to the Navy: the quay is lined with cranes, and various ships were alongside. We went aboard the *Centaur*, which is T.'s flagship, and had lunch. I went all round the ship with the flag lieutenant. She lies at the head of the line of light cruisers nearest to the open sea. A long talk with the Commodore alone after lunch over the charts of the North Sea. Then we went on to the Porte flying-boat yards, and saw these new aircraft put out and come home. Tyrwhitt took me back to the station and I caught the 5.39 P.M. back to London.

T. is under the orders of the Admiralty directly, but he has a working agreement to act under Beatty if they are out together, and he and Bacon of the Dover Patrol help each other. There is an Admiral of Harwich whose job is to sweep certain channels of mines, but he is not able to give T. orders. There is a flotilla of submarines in Harwich harbour also not under T., but they again work together. The day of Jutland T. got no orders, so put to sea with all his force and made for the area which he would have reached at 4 A.M. the morning after the fight and probably have mopped up much, but the Admiralty recalled him peremptorily, and he got into trouble over it. He thinks that they forgot him. A most extraordinary system of command, as there are also commanders of destroyer and submarine divisions, *e.g.* at Hull, who are also on their own, and there is no assurance of co-operation. T. says that there are a lot of rajahs along the coast each with his own domain, and he thinks that there should be an Admiral at the Nore in command of all the East coast. But he thinks that Bacon's job in the Straits should be separate, as it is. Roughly, Tyrwhitt's domain extends from latitude 54° 30′ N. to about 51° 30′, right across the North Sea to the Dutch, German, and Danish coasts. He has 9 light cruisers and 24 destroyers. Bacon has 36 destroyers and the monitors. Usually one light cruiser and a couple of

destroyers of Tyrwhitt's force are under repair, and the command is officially designated 'The Harwich Forces.' In Tyrwhitt's cabin there hangs a small board on which is shown, by little brass labels, which are detachable and hang on hooks, the position of each vessel under him—about 41 in all. There are the four or five divisions in the two destroyer flotillas, also the flotilla leaders, the light cruisers, the ships detached, and those under repair locally at a naval port. It is 'form at a glance,' as T. says, and the exact situation of the whole command can be seen in a moment. I told Tyrwhitt that Pétain would be pleased. It was just his plan of the graphics in his office.

After explaining the general situation as regards command, Tyrwhitt showed me the North Sea charts on which are marked the positions of the German and British minefields, so far as they are known. There are two large German minefields off Harwich, in the region of the Galloper Light and to north of it, and various channels through or round these are kept open by our mine-sweepers. There is also the long main channel, N. and S., suitable for all craft, which is kept open all up the E. coast. All these are swept every day, but three times a week the Germans mine them with their submarines, and, shortly after I came on board the *Centaur*, one of the mine-sweepers returned with the survivors of another that had been blown up. These German minefields are not, however, the main obstacle to the activity of our light cruisers and destroyers in the North Sea. The real obstacles are our own minefields, which extend in a semicircle across the German North Sea shores, from about Blaavand Point in N. latitude 55° 30′ off the coast of Jutland, to the Dutch territorial waters off the coast near the Texel. It is a huge minefield of patches, not a regularly and uniformly mined area throughout, but the object has been to create a barrier, and it certainly is a barrier to us. Thus Tyrwhitt can no longer get into the Bight of Heligoland, and moreover our ships escorting or towing the new Porte flying boats cannot take them within 120 miles of the German ports and towns overdue to be bombed. These

minefields no doubt obstruct the German Navy too, and have probably caused the loss of many ships and submarines, especially as the trend of the current takes mines which break loose towards the German and Danish coasts, but the Germans can sweep channels if they like, and the main object, namely, the barring of the road to the submarines, has wholly failed in its purpose.

I said that these minefields seemed to me antagonistic to the principles of Nelson, who always gave every opportunity to the enemy to put to sea, because it was there he 'expected to realise the hopes and expectations of his country.' The Germans could only put to sea with difficulty, except round by the Skaw, while we were blocked out, and could neither scout nor harry his coast towns and docks with our Porte flying boats. T. said that that was the position, and he could not be off the German coasts with his light craft because he could not now get there. In fact his instructions to his officers were that he did not expect them to cross the line of the mined area, leaving it thus open to them to take the risk if the occasion warranted it, but covering them if they did not. He knew that the public thought that he was always off the German coasts, but he was not, for the reasons stated, and he could not range beyond Terschelling. From this point to Wilhelmshaven was 120 miles, so that the Porte boats, if sent to bomb the German dockyard, had nearly 240 miles more to cover than if our mines had not been laid. There was even a question now of sweeping our own mines away.

One of his duties was to convoy the Dutch trade across once a week. It came in with its destroyer escort while I was on the *Centaur*, and later I saw a small crowd of young Dutchmen or Belgians—I hope our spies and not the German—on the railway platform. We had extended our mined area to southward to points off the Dutch coast which were outside territorial waters, but inside the navigable waters. This had prevented German vessels passing from Dutch ports to German, but we had allowed the Dutch trade a safe road, roughly, so far as I remember, on the

meridian of 4° E., and this line was marked by Dutch light-ships. Tyrwhitt thought that these helped the Hun submarines as they went home, for they picked up one of these ships, and then received instructions from home how to proceed safely. We have therefore, it seems to me, completely muddled our North Sea strategy.

I liked the new light-cruiser class. They are about 4000 tons, 30 knots speed, and armed with five 6-in. guns upon the centre line, besides a couple of Archies each. These are the latest, for some have fewer 6-in. guns and less well placed. The *Centaur* was as spick and span as the *Queen Elizabeth* and the same light-grey colour. So smart does she look that when some American sailors came on board the other day they said 'I suppose you never go out of harbour!' It is the oiling that allows the ship to be so natty. A great part of the cubic space is taken up by the engines, but the accommodation and light are infinitely superior to the conditions on board a battleship, and the crew are most comfortable, as are the officers.

I asked Tyrwhitt about his formations when cruising. Line ahead, he said, gave the submarines too good a target by day, so he usually moved in certain formations which he explained to me.

The day formation was very supple and he could turn in any direction. He never steamed less than 20 knots. By day the enemy's torpedoes could usually be seen, and it was quite easy for any single ship to avoid them. All ships had depth charges which they let go over a submarine if she submerged. It was odd now to think that at the opening of the war he used to be off the enemy's coast with a 17 knot ship, and that the Grand Fleet cruised about the North Sea at 8 knots without destroyer escort. The destroyers had done grand work, but Bacon worked them hard, sometimes keeping them out twenty-two nights in succession, and they returned to T. much used up. Bacon's barrier extended across the Straits from the South Foreland to about Dunkirk, but the storms often displaced mines and nets.

We had no mines at the Skaw. This area was watched

by the light-cruiser divisions of the Grand Fleet. They had baby seaplanes on board, and the other day one was loosed at a Zepp., and the young fellow in charge rose, destroyed her, and was back on board all in fifty-eight minutes. For Tyrwhitt the Zepp. is finished. He prefers the Porte flying ships, which have a range of 600 miles, take five men, and can drop 1000 lbs. of explosives. This is for the large Porte with, I think, 230 feet spread tip to tip and weighing five tons. The smaller sort is only 80 feet. We visited the sheds, which are of immense size and cover a large area near the sea on the east side of the harbour. The boats are like canoes in appearance, but broad and on fine lines. T. thinks that there is too much boat. There are floats below each wing to prevent an upset when on the water. Two bombs are hung on each wing. They have two 250 h.p. Rolls-Royce engines, but new ones are being built with three 350 h.p. engines. We saw one launched from a wooden pier of which the sea end floats on the water. She took the water easily and after getting up speed rose well, but is not a very rapid climber. We also saw one come down like a duck into the water. This pier was patched because it was bombed the other day. These Porte ships have only been in use three months. They are the terror of the submarines, of whom they have already accounted for six. They do a nose dive at them and let the bombs go about 600 feet from the sea. Harwich and its surroundings have been constantly bombed, but no real damage has been done and the great sheds are untouched. It is probable that the Archies ashore and on the cruisers make the Huns wary.

We both laughed over an amusing Council of War held by Winston early in the war. All the Admirals were present and asked to make suggestions for offensive operations. One wished to attack Wilhelmshaven and to send in the destroyers first. Another was for the attack of Heligoland but had no practical suggestion to make how it should be accomplished. A third wished to attack Kiel and was for sending the light cruisers and destroyers in first through

the Belts. Tyrwhitt was then consulted about the latter project, and said that he would certainly carry out any operation ordered, but in this case would not expect to bring any of his ships back. I told T. that all our officers who had been with the Navy on manœuvres before the war were of opinion that the officers and men were fine, and their seamanship and technical knowledge remarkable, but that one and all agreed that the Navy had no knowledge of war, knew nothing of staff work, and had worked out no schemes of operations or even the tactical evolutions needed in battle. They had also published nothing worth reading on the higher branches of the art of war. T. agreed that this was so, and the position in the North Sea now was the result. Like Beatty, Tyrwhitt knew nothing of our military arrangements ashore, and wished that he did. He only reported to the Admiralty, and usually made his plans after a telephone conversation with the First Sea Lord. I said that I hoped it was a private wire and he said it was. We agreed that the Admiralty information was excellent. Winston had offered to tell T. how it came, but T. said that he did not want to know. If the weather serves, Bacon is to attack Zeebrugge again to-morrow morning, and Tyrwhitt is taking four of his light cruisers to stand by if help is needed. One of his officers told me that T. never leaves the bridge while at sea, and spoke with enthusiasm of him, adding that he was a bit of a tartar. The demeanour of all who came to him to report showed me that they knew who was the master of the Harwich Forces. I could not have been more courteously received. Domvile was there, and we had some chaff about the old Invasion inquiries before the Imperial Defence Committee.

CHAPTER XXV

EVENTS AND OPINIONS

The attempt of General Korniloff to seize power in Russia—The Luxburg case—The Russian railways—The internal state of Russia—A visit to Wilton and Cranborne—The hospital at Wilton—Charm of Cranborne—Our troops in Flanders half drowned—Mr. Montagu and Sir Herbert Cox on Indian affairs—Raising of fresh Indian forces—A row at a Cabinet meeting between Lord Kitchener and Mr. Lloyd George—A talk with Mr. Balfour, General Smuts, and Sir W. Robertson—General Maurice on the situation—The question of the transfer of German forces West in the spring—Probable rate of arrival—Eastern campaigns—Need of a War Chair at some University to teach budding statesmen—Colonel Fagalde's ideas—The aeroplanes at Gibraltar—Visit to Wilton—Talks with Sir W. Robertson.

Thursday, Sept. 6 *to Sunday, Sept.* 9. Not many people in town. Went to Kenwood on Thursday and found the Grand Duchess and all her party and various other people. Saw a good Laszlo portrait. A long sitting of the Tribunal, Friday. We are getting down to the crocks now. The Town Clerk, Mr. Johnstone, has had amusing correspondence with various food controllers and directors, displaying the amazing chaos in these departments. Also heard that Lord Rhondda has suddenly discovered that he can't distribute the food he has bought abroad and has asked the Army Council to a meeting to 'co-ordinate' mechanical transport, which means to annex it, as the Army has nearly all of it. It would be less trouble if Rhondda went home and left the Army authorities to feed and ration the people. Farmers up in arms against the prices fixed. A glorious general muddle from amateurs trying to interfere with the delicate balance of supply and demand.

Winston has made good at once the Italian Munition losses due to the explosions at Udine and Rome: a good

mark to him. Colonel Mola and Count Pallavicino came up late Saturday night to ask me how to get some tanks which General Dall' Olio requires for the Carso. I investigated and referred Mola to Colonel Buckley, M.I. 2. Lunched with Mrs. Denistoun, Saturday: Lady Loughborough, Sir John Cowans, and Miss Mozley also there; the ladies good-looking, the latter half Spanish.

The military news of the week is that L. G.'s plan of sending an army to Italy is once more temporarily abandoned. This was the main question before the Conference, and Haig has had to come over again to help about it. There has also been defeated a plan of taking part of our Army away to the French front. All these things entail a vast amount of unnecessary work, but I do not think it bad that the railway projects of a move to Italy should be ready, as they now are. We remain much down in numbers in France, 64,000 in the aggregate, but in the divisions it is 104,000, or was a few days ago, and we may have 10,000 casualties a week. Drafts are going out at the rate of 4000 a day, and it is hoped that Geddes will get the men right if the Government do not impede him. Haig is still bent on getting the Passchendaele Ridge, but not just yet. Glass rising, but still rain and drizzle constantly. Sir Adam Block guarantees X. just back from Constantinople, who vows that 60,000 Huns are nearing Aleppo, and that she saw them in the train on her way to Belgrade. Some believe her, but the G.S. do not. I saw Margey's new house on Sunday. Very nice as usual. Freddy looks well. An air-raid warning, but it came to nothing. I was asked to Knebworth by Lady Strafford but could not go.

Monday, Sept. 10. Heard that all my references to mines have been cut out by the Censor from my article on the Light Forces of the Navy. I did not think that they would pass such a show-up of Admiralty bungling. Lunched with General Dessino and Colonel Baron Gravensky of the Russian mission. Gravensky had the evening paper, with the first news of the rumpus between Korniloff the Russian

C.-in-C. and Kerensky the head of the Provisional Government. It is evidently civil war. Nabokoff and Wolkoff joined us. Neither had heard the news and read it with stupor, though it is pretty well what Nabokoff had predicted. Most of the party thought that Korniloff would win. Kaledin and the Cossacks with their 250,000 men will back Korniloff. Dessino says that Klembovsky, whom Kerensky has made C.-in-C., is a clever fellow but of no character. Korniloff is evidently marching on Petrograd. It is very Napoleonic and quite justified. The Moscow Conference pointed to it. Kerensky has not been able to remove his roots from the wretched Soviet, which has been the curse of the Revolution. Gravensky says that the Russians on the Dvina were twice as strong as the Germans, and yet gave way. It is thought that the real German effort will be in Moldavia, and the Rumanians are reported to be shaky.

We talked of the Swedish affair. The German Chargé d'Affaires in the Argentine, Count Luxburg, had been sending cipher messages to Europe through the Swedish Minister at Buenos Ayres, and among other things advised that the Argentine ships should be *spurlos versenkt*. The Swedish Foreign Ministry seems compromised. Luxburg used to be Consul General in India, where Nabokoff knew him well. N. says that the Germans sent their best men, Councillors of Embassy, etc., to India to foster intrigues. Luxburg is a small bald-headed man resembling Lamsdorff. Nabokoff wonders whether 400,000 Swedes will now occupy Finland. All very serious, but we imagine that Sweden will give us satisfaction. Finished the South African chapters of my memoir and forgot all about the time and my dinner with Colonel Mola. Telephoned, and went after dinner to Queen Anne's Mansions. Madame Mola is American. A pleasant daughter of seventeen. General Phillips there, our Military Attaché at Athens. He says that the Greek Army is no good, and that I can wipe it off. He disbelieves the 60,000 Germans story. He dislikes Sarrail, who had done no good

in command, but P. wants to continue the occupation even though he admits that an offensive is impracticable. He is an Easterner who really knows that the West is the main thing. Ansaldo there, and a few others including the Duke of Something and a handsome wife, a Colonna and attractive.

Tuesday, Sept. 11. Lunched with E. and Doris Keane and heard all the news of their holiday on the Cornish coast. They are both looking very well, Lydia Kyasht could not turn up as she has to give lunch to her Coliseum manager and people.

Thursday, Sept. 13. Dined with E., who later telephoned to the Savoy for Mr. John Kennalley, secretary to Colonel Boyle, alias 'Klondyke.' Kennalley left Boyle at General Korniloff's headquarters only about a fortnight ago and told us all about the situation there. He is convinced that Korniloff will be master of the position. Their special job has been railways. Kennalley says that the permanent way is all right, and rolling stock not too bad, but better repair shops are badly needed, and he has come back to help to get the tools and plant. But the real trouble is defective organisation. One authority controls normal-gauge lines and another the light lines, while the Army zone and rearward zone are not well defined, and all the trouble comes where the different authorities clash. Korniloff is accepting all Boyle's plans, and has sent him off to the Rumanian front to continue his work. Kennalley does not find that bribing is needed.

Friday, Sept. 14. Saw Seymour Fortescue. He told me that he had sent on my North Sea article to the Admiralty, which had cut out all my criticism of the mine strategy. He says they believe that Beatty and I concocted the criticism between us. Lunched with Lockett and Colin Agnew, and we had a talk about our respective doings since last we met. Lockett has only made half his usual bag at Fetteresso this year.

Dined with Lydia Kyasht at her house, 74 Knightsbridge, her old house in Avenue Road being let for a term.

Very pretty, and everything well done as usual. Lydia in despair about Russia. In her husband's regiment the men have just killed the colonel and two other officers because they did not like them, and all the officers at Cronstadt, ordered by the so-called Government to be released because innocent, have been clapped back in prison again. Prices awful, the exchange gone to nothing, and hard to get necessaries. Paper money being turned out regardless of consequences. Petrograd will probably both freeze and starve this winter, and any Government in office then will be hated. Lydia fears that Korniloff has started to govern too soon and has not enough troops, but we shall see. The Ragosin property has been taken from the owners and distributed among peasants, who have cut down the orchards which produced 10,000 roubles a year. A story generally of complete chaos, and dreadful to hear. Lydia looking very pretty and has still her child-like naïveté and charm, but looks very worried, and I don't wonder.

Saturday, Sept. 15. Started early and arrived at Wilton in time for luncheon with Lady Pembroke and her children. Walked round the grounds and saw the armour, and then the glorious pictures again. Bee also took me round her hospital in Bachelor's Row, the ground floor in the front of the house. She takes in forty officers, and the hospital is very well done, and the wounded officers are very happy. We had a good talk about various public and private matters, and she showed me M. de Cosson's opinion on the armour, refuting the criticism made of it just before the late sale. But this criticism cannot have had much effect as one of the suits brought an offer of £14,500. Motored over in the late afternoon to Cranborne, the Salisburys' place about sixteen miles from Wilton, now lent to the Lyttons. A delightful old place, mainly Tudor, but the centre part and banqueting-hall dating from King John. The portico back and front and the gate-house are very interesting. An ideal little old-world place, with great dignity and charm.

Sunday, Sept. 16. Long walks morning and afternoon, and a good talk with my host and hostess. We talked

about the Ministry, the Admiralty, Russia, disarmament and obligatory arbitration, education, and public affairs of all sorts. An interesting day, and I liked both the Lyttons very much. Four very jolly children and young Lord Knebworth very promising.

Monday, Sept. 17. Returned to London via Daggons Road and Salisbury. Train crammed as usual and most uncomfortable. I had a slight touch of fever, so did not much appreciate a noisy baby in my carriage. I saw Sir W. Robertson in the evening. He tells me that Plumer has succeeded Gough in command of the Ypres front, and that in a short time, Haig, Pétain, and Cadorna will all attack. R. must feel that my view that Flanders is unsuitable ground for a great offensive has been justified. The troops have in certain parts been literally flooded out, but none of them would listen to me about this point, perhaps because I had been Military Attaché in the Low Countries and happened to know this district. People who know are not much accounted in this war, as Curzon once said to me. R. cross with a *Times* leader of the 15th criticising failure to publish despatches, and says that no other country publishes despatches, and that ours have to be in two sets, one for publication and one not. It was also impossible to publish Murray's last despatch until Allenby had struck his blow. R. is inclined to think that all despatches should remain secret until after the war, and I agree.

The news from Russia is that the Korniloff *coup d'état* has failed. Lydia was right about it.

Thursday, Sept. 20. Lunched with the Edwin Montagus. General Sir Herbert Cox, Military Secretary at the India Office, also there. We talked India first. Montagu full of his coming journey to India. He starts next month, and will be away six months. Army matters occupied us first. M. wishes to present some new organisation to satisfy people. I told him that nothing new was needed, only the proper carrying out of the existing scheme which was that of the Esher Committee and our War Office trans-

ferred to India. Cox objected that the C.-in-C. could not get away enough. I thought that he could, and that Monro had, but I saw no objection to the C.-in-C. deputing a man to represent him as Robertson was represented by Whigham on the Army Council. If M. could show and explain the working of the system every one would be satisfied. It was from the ignorance of people and from the dust of the old Curzon-K. controversy that confusion of ideas had come. As to the part that our G.S. here might take, I was for limiting it to the control of operations outside India. Cox said that the G.S. claimed much more. I said that I knew this, but that I did not support the claim and did not think the public would, and had so told Robertson. But I said that the amount of force which India could place in the field was of deep interest to the G.S., and that steps must be taken to learn the views of the G.S. upon all large questions of reorganisation, and that the commands in India must not be allowed to fall again into the hands of men passed over for promotion. We were agreed about King's Commissions for Indians as a political necessity, and all three of us were for the training of cadets in India. But I told M. that I did not really see the white officer obeying an Indian, and that I should recommend regiments wholly officered eventually by Indians, as in Egypt some are by Egyptians. I was told that the Indian Government objected to have any second-grade troops. I thought this absurd, as there had always been such troops and always would be. But in any case there was no need to lay down hard and fast rules. It would be long before the cadets would come on for senior duties, and in the interval experiments could be made and time gained. I think that the deep and inscrutable M. agreed with most of this. He then spoke of the larger projects of Indian Government development, and seemed inclined to go in for Federal arrangements and devolution of central responsibility. He thought that Simla might give up some powers if the India Office did also. At present the latter rather criticised than

created. M.'s difficulty was to find means to attract men to India if they were liable to be upset in their work by the votes of popularly elected bodies, which could not themselves find men to do the work. When he mentioned some of the immense difficulties in his way I remarked that he would feel much more gay if he kept firmly in his mind that the eternal rule of 300,000,000 Indians by 200,000 whites was a wholly impracticable proposition. It was no use, I thought, to attempt perfection in attaining the impossible, and there was no counsel of perfection for him except to do his best. Even Balfour, I told him, had once admitted as much to me, and had seen no way to solve the problem.

We talked of Dilke's *Autobiography*, out to-day, and M. and I agreed that D. would never have been Prime Minister, as some of this morning's papers suggest. M. truly said that Dilke's speeches were more crammed with facts from the past than with practical guidance for the present and the future. M. and Cox said that the Amir was behaving admirably.

A long tribunal in the afternoon. Another of our clerks found trying to borrow money from men liable to service. Why do they not pay these men better and keep them out of temptation ?

Heard an amusing account of a great row between L. G. and K. at a Cabinet early in the war. Winston or L. G. had demanded the facts about the Expeditionary Force. K. had refused them, but Asquith had decided that they ought to be given. So K. gave them, but only read them out, and his colleagues took notes, K. demanding secrecy about them. Soon after Von Donop gave the Munitions Committee—on which sat L. G. with Balfour and others not in the Cabinet—details of numbers, guns, shells, etc., when L. G. whispered that the figures were different and they did not agree with those given by K. He said so also to Von Donop, who was very surprised and said that he knew nothing of the figures which Lord K. had given, and must refer to K. on the matter. At the next Cabinet Lord K. opened a furious attack on L. G. and others, accusing them of violating the

secrecy of Cabinet debates, upon which L. G. turned on him white with rage and tore the figures to pieces. K. gathered up his papers, said that he saw no reason to go on if he did not possess the confidence of his colleagues, and walked towards the door, whereupon various Cabinet Ministers dragged him back by the coat tails and made him sit down again. Asquith and then Grey spoke calming words and the thing blew over, but K. told his colleagues that no one in the War Office knew the real figures or what he was doing as he kept everything in his own hands.

Friday, Sept. 21. Went to the Foreign Office in the morning to take Hardinge my diary of my last visit to France as promised. Had a talk with Hardinge. He is not quite sure what there is in the minds of soldiers in this renewed offensive of ours in the Ypres district which recommenced yesterday morning at 5.40 A.M. To what object is this operation? I could not enlighten him greatly, except that Haig was out for the Passchendaele Ridge and to dominate the Belgian plain. H. considers the Russian position as bad as the rest of us, and only hopes that there will continue to be a mess of Russian troops on the borders to tie up a good many German divisions. He thought that some 10,000 Germans were on their way to fight Maude, and that they were taking motors for transport.

Lunched at Mr. Balfour's house with him, General Smuts, and Sir William Robertson. We lunched at a tiny table with just room for the four of us, as our host said that he was becoming rather deaf. We discussed Germany's position, and were agreed that Germany was all for peace. We imagined that she had some difficulties which we did not fully know, but we thought that want of men, raw material, and especially wool, transport, food, and so on were quite enough to account for her chastened mood. Smuts developed his recent speech in which he had said that we had won the war. This opinion he had given because the *Journal* man who had come to him had been very despondent and had said that we had lost the war. Smuts thinks we have won, and said that the Boers had lost the war in

South Africa at the end of six months, but still managed to hold out for two years longer. But Smuts said that though we had won the war we might lose the peace, and was evidently anxious about negotiations in which he thought the Germans would try to create bad blood between the Allies. I said that I thought we had every advantage in knowing the German idea of terms. B. did not know whether the German reply to the Pope had yet arrived. We all agreed that we could not have an armistice because we could not afford to suspend the blockade. All happy about the second day of Haig's new offensive. R. says that Plumer is a good man and that Tim Harington and the 2nd Army Staff have done splendidly. Gough was promised the command in the Yser fight before Messines had proved the efficiency of the 2nd Army Command and Staff, and the latter having again shown their competence would be given a wider control in future. We discussed Plumer, and I told old Eton stories of him. R. said that people at first did not believe in him because he had no chin. I agreed that he did not look like a Chief, but that he was a steady character and his troops always liked him. What makes troops trust their Chief? asked B. 'Success,' answered Smuts, and from that we came to talk of Buller, when Smuts and I found we had been fighting each other in Natal, and I was very complimentary about the admirable defence he and his Boers put up against us. He thought that his people had done extremely well for a citizen army, and in commenting on my praise of Botha he said that Botha had a wonderful eye for ground and would take in a whole situation at a glance. Smuts did not admire Buller's leading, and said that if we had gone on at Vaalkrantz the road to Ladysmith was open to us, as I thought at the time. We spoke of Wellington, and Balfour agreed with me in my admiration for him and in my regret that no great life of him had ever appeared.

Saw Maurice. He says that Plumer will go on again in five or six days if the weather serves. Haig was only anxious about the second day of the fight, as the Huns had accumu-

lated great reserves for counter-attacks. All had been beaten back, and we now seemed secure. All Haig's interest was in the attack on the Menin Road.

Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 22 *and* 23. Went down to Coombe to cheer up the General and Lady Paget, who are still in great grief about Bertie's death. Lady (Ralph) Paget there looking very worn and white. The twins came, both again wounded at the same time, Reggie through the knee and Arthur in the foot by a bomb. The Lionel Guests also there, and Mrs. Page looked in on Sunday. Sir Arthur says that the last good division left in England, Cis Bingham's 67th, is being broken up. Sir Arthur knew nothing of the North Sea minefield, and is not in touch with the Navy in any way. Returned home late on Sunday.

Monday, Sept. 24. A strong night air-raid on London and the devil of a lot of firing, but not much harm done.

Tuesday, Sept. 25. Maurice dined with me at Claridge's. As I crossed Grosvenor Square at about 8 P.M. there was much firing and sounds of explosions. There was a fresh raid in progress. People clearing rapidly for cover. The Ladies Cunard, Annesley, and Randolph Churchill meet at Claridge's quite calm, and go on to the Opera in spite of the raid. Charles had a nice dinner for us. I told Maurice the whole story of the North Sea minefield of which he had never heard! What a country! The Director of Operations is not informed of the principal factor in the North Sea! He was deeply interested in the story, and I begged him to try and move about the liaison with the Navy. Maurice says that Plumer and his Staff are now responsible for the main attack on the Menin Road, and that Gough is on his left now, with Rawlinson to come in presently. All goes well. M. hopes that the Passchendaele Ridge may be taken by Oct. 10, and that before the close of the campaigning season in November we may have the next ridge on the way to Roulers, when our long-range naval guns which are in readiness will be able to bombard Ostend and Zeebrugge, and render them and the Bruges Canal useless for naval purposes. I hope

that this may pan out, but it all seems a trifle petty in itself, and one can only approve because it entails killing Germans all the time.

M. says that the Germans have 238 divisions altogether, 91 on the Russian front, and the balance in the West, namely, 147. In the recent German counter-attacks the enemy used up six divisions, which were completely shattered by our guns and always will be if visibility is good, as we now have the best of the ground. Haig will go on in a day or two, and Pétain is also to attack, probably to-morrow. I said that I supposed that the War Cabinet were prepared for the transfer of a large number of German divisions from East to West by the spring. M. said that they were expecting the whole pack to come, but that he, M., did not expect more than thirty divisions to come across if the Russians held any sort of a line, as the Germans could not hold their Eastern front with less than sixty divisions. I told M. the last calculation that the French G.Q.G. had given me, namely, four to five divisions in a month. M. thought that this was too low, and that at least seven could be transferred per month. Foch's staff had worked it out, giving Germany the benefit of all doubts, and had made it fifteen a month, but M. thought this too high. In any case the War Cabinet were much exercised on the subject. But the Americans were from now on coming over at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ divisions a month, and the second of General Pershing's divisions was now landing. This should give twelve divisions by March. Pershing is having trouble with the French. They promised him 12,000 horses, and have only given him 1200. M. thinks the American staff good and Pershing excellent, but the staff is a bit old except as a G.H.Q.

M. thinks that Foch and Pétain get on well together, but that Foch and the politicians get on less well. He has Weygand with him still, but is practically only in charge of Salonika, and Painlevé sends orders there without consulting him. M. advises me to see Joffre in Paris. All the relations of the Commanders are now good, and M.

likes Pétain very much. The only thing M. grumbles about is the fact that Pétain is more like us and not like a Frenchman. I said naturally, because he is from the Pas de Calais, and as near an Englishman as makes no matter. M. says that he does not take soldiers by the ear and call them 'mon enfant' as Joffre did, and that Frenchmen like these Napoleonic habits.

M. says that Allenby is getting on well and is always in the saddle and well at the front, dropping in upon Commanders and troops, and having everything well in hand. The moral of his Army was much improved. Allenby prefers to wait for two or three weeks until all his resources are assembled, and the G.S. will not press him to attack before his hour. As for Maude, there are two German divisions prepared to go east rapidly when the time comes, and M. is keeping his eye on them. The German plan is to prepare the L. of C. and make a rapid journey with the troops so as to cause a surprise, but if the Hun sends two divisions to Mesopotamia we can send two from France, and can get them to Maude before the Germans can get to Bagdad, since they have 250 miles to make beyond their railways. M. fancies that the problem of carrying the twelve to fourteen Turkish divisions necessary to defeat Maude will tax the enemy's skill, and that motor transport cannot do much for such numbers. Maude is now getting a sixth division and should have a seventh by January. He will be able to feed and carry three more in case of need.

We talked of the politicians, and M. said that X. was pressing all sorts of schemes on L. G., mainly the Alexandretta scheme, which M. has all ready in a drawer. The P.M. asked how long it took to get from Alexandria to Alexandretta, and was told forty-eight hours. Then he said, troops can be crammed into the ships as for a short journey. But it was pointed that if Alexandria were to be the starting point, as the Admiralty wished, it would take three weeks to embark the necessary force, and two weeks to disembark them, so that the men would be three to five weeks on board, and so could not be packed like

herrings in a barrel. M. thought that we ought to have a Chair at some University to teach budding statesmen the rudiments of war, and that it would be a very interesting one. 'A sort of Senior Officers' Staff College Course,' I said. 'Yes,' said M., 'to make them understand all the things that the War Cabinet has not been able to grasp throughout the war and cannot grasp now.' I told M. that I had said to the Frenchmen that after the war it would be found that 50 per cent. of the time and energy of soldiers had been expended in fighting their own politicians. M. thought that my percentage was much too low. The War Cabinet had still taken no decision respecting men. We had swept in everybody in the Army for the fighting line, including even experts, motor-drivers, and so on, but unless something were done we should be compelled to reduce strengths. We had 64 divisions in France. They were the equivalent of about 80 German, and 10 of our divisions were from the Dominions. The Cabinet wanted to reduce the strength of our divisions in order to evade their duty of calling up more men.

In the late evening met X., who told me the story of the Laszlo case.

Wednesday, Sept. 26. Wrote a short article on the Russian campaign of 1917, ending with a homily about discipline. Colonel Fagalde, liaison officer from General Foch, lunched with me at the Carlton. He said that the relations between Painlevé, Foch, and Pétain were perfect, and that there had not been one cloud. We spoke of my next visit. Pershing is at Neufchâteau. F. agreed with Maurice's views of the American arrivals. It had required great tact to give them French instructors. The French had made the American camp alongside a Chasseur division, and the Americans had naturally gone to look on. This had led to courtesies, and finally to the Americans themselves asking for French help. There were now schools for all arms and for officers, and when enough American instructors were formed these would take over the schools. The men were tall and spare. No American troopship had yet been

sunk. Pershing was in no hurry to take over a part of the line until he could have a fairly big bit, suited to a more or less independent Commander. America was devoting 400,000 tons of shipping to the transport of her armies. There was no difficulty about finding the 75 mm. guns for the Americans, as there was an output of over 900 guns per month in France and an expenditure of 600 only. But heavy guns were more difficult because France had not enough herself.

F. thought that Germany might send fifteen divisions a month over the five railways from East to West, but he did not expect such a good result. It was possible, if Russia gave way, that sixty divisions might come, but not probable, and they would mainly be infantry with weakish artillery. F. doubted that the Huns had any plans, and thought that they were merely acting defensively on both fronts and taking the offensive at sea.

Haig had made a fresh advance that morning and had won all his objectives. Pétain would attack in a few days. He liked to make sure before striking. I should find most of the old 2nd Army Staff under Pétain at G.Q.G. including Cointet at the head of the Intelligence, Serrigny, etc. Foch had Weygand and Georges.

We discussed Salonika. According to F. we are causing much worry in Paris by demanding that Sarrail should be changed. It will be very disagreeable if Sarrail returns to France, for a place will have to be found for him. He has become the standard bearer of the Socialists who have annexed him, and Painlevé has a weakness for him because he resisted at Verdun in 1914 when Joffre had ordered him to give it up. It might become necessary to put Sarrail in Foch's place. It would be a great boon to the French if we could give up pressing for Sarrail's withdrawal. F. could not see that it mattered, nor could I, seeing that nothing could be done at Salonika. F. thinks that Sarrail has character of a kind. His Chief of Staff is the main cause of the troubles with the Allies, but Sarrail is *très mal entouré*, and all his Staff seem to be unsuitable.

F. said that America had sixteen great camps, at each of which two divisions were being raised.

I met General Dessino afterwards, and he wants me to write plainly about the want of discipline in the Russian Army, as he says that people in Russia will attend to me but not to Russian papers. I asked him how the Embassy got on during the turmoil in Russia. He said that they got their pay, but often very late and Baring's made them advances. No one was allowed to receive more than 500 roubles (£19) a month from his private income in Russia, and this even when people were millionaires, and he described the difficult position of members of the Embassy who were nominally rich and had commitments here.

Thursday, Sept. 27. Lunched with Sir Herbert Miles, the Governor of Gibraltar, and had a good talk. He returns next week. He has four battalions, but if Spain joins against us he will want four divisions, or the Spaniards can destroy our ships, dockyards, etc. Aeroplanes were sent out without consulting him. There was nowhere to land on the Rock after a flight except on neutral ground, so they were sent home again after two had been lost in attempting flights. They were sent out as ordnance stores and without any inquiry as to possibilities. Miles is glad that a dozen American destroyers are now arriving at Gib. to take on the Hun submarines.

Saturday to Sunday, Sept. 29-30. Evelyn FitzGerald and I went down to Wilton together, and found Lady Pembroke, Sir William and Lady Robertson, and Mrs. Rupert Beckett. Lord Curzon too ill to come, and Mr. Balfour too busy. A very enjoyable week-end in lovely weather, only spoilt by news of air-raids in London both nights, but telephone messages from the War Office assured me that there was no damage done in N.W. London. Some capital lawn tennis, and we played all the afternoon. Lady R. went to town Sunday afternoon as she had to launch a ship on Monday. Some interesting talks, in which the politicians might have heard some things which would have done them good.

Sir W. R. gave us the first news of Maude's success at Ramadie on the Euphrates, where he has ringed up and captured the whole Turkish garrison several thousand strong. R. very pleased about it, and says that the War Cabinet to-morrow will think that they have won the war. Had some good talks with R. He leaves me under the impression that Pétain's promised offensive is off, which vexes us both as we cannot win the war by fighting alone on a ten-mile front while all our other Allies are not fighting. R. says that the French have not used all their 1917 class, and none of their 1918, while our boys of nineteen go out daily. He says that the principle of the limited offensive was only accepted unwillingly. But now every one accepted the principles which I suggested even as early as after Neuve Chapelle, and Generals like Harper declare that success can always be won on these principles. The limited objective is alone suitable until our superiority is much greater than it is now.

R. says that we have only four bombing squadrons in France of some eighty aeroplanes, and that we cannot spare them for raiding German towns, but that in four to six weeks, when active operations are suspended, we shall be able to spare them to go to the right of the French line and to start from there to bomb German towns. The War Cabinet are not at all opposed to reprisals. Plumer keeps on getting more troops to his left, and the other troops on the left will presently chip in.

R. thinks that Allenby will be all right at Gaza, as he is quite satisfied and has now been well fitted out. He says that we have not pressed for Sarrail's recall lately. Maude is active. The Turks had some 6000 men at Ramadie, and have four to five divisions on the Tigris, besides the forces at Aleppo, supposed to be seventeen divisions, but some may be only 3000 strong. Maude has used his central situation well, and the Turks will try to threaten with one force and attack with the other. R. dubious how Falkenhayn will get up his Aleppo forces to the front and supply them. On the whole, R. says that the War Cabinet, apart

from the question of Man-Power, are doing well and he is not much troubled by them now, but he grumbles that L. G. is still always starting new hares. There is no news yet of any great German movement from East to West. R. growls about the 600 guns that we have given to Russia, and says that they have not yet been in action. He does not think that we shall send Russia much more. He is rather critical of the Italian fighting power, and does not apparently hope for much more on that front this year. Cadorna turned down the Tank question and said that he could not use them. Dall' Olio might have inquired before asking for them from Mola.

R. thinks it wrong that Reggie with 50,000 acres in Wiltshire, half Dublin, and his hospital, should remain in France and leave all the immense task of administration to Lady Bee. Reggie has been out for three years, and Bee is getting worn out. She made no request to R. but the latter discussed the question with me. R. said that he himself might as well be in the ranks. He made us laugh a good deal with his caustic remarks on men and things. When told that Henry VIII. gave Wilton to the Pembrokes, he asked 'Who did he steal it from?' R. very happy and enjoyed his rest immensely. He says that he hates great week-end parties 'as one gets mucked about by everybody and might as well be at the War Office.' We came back together Monday morning, motoring to Winchester, and thence by train. Waterloo had two bombs in the late raid, and there was some glass broken in the station and the adjoining streets, while seven feet of steel rail was blown up and fell on the platform by the Inquiry Office. I saw no signs of other harm as I drove through London.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FRONT IN FRANCE, OCTOBER 1917

Major Comber on the French—A conversation with General Foch—Government and Censorship—A conversation with Marshal Joffre—The question of an Inter-Allied Staff—Marshal Joffre's Conferences at Chantilly—His plans for 1916 and 1917—His opinions about American assistance—M. Painlevé on the war and French politics—Question of the British taking over more front—A conversation with M. Clemenceau—His opinions on some French generals—On French, English, and Germans under punishment—On the staleness of the French troops—On French shortage of wheat—On a new German peace offer—On French casualties—M. Clemenceau's life—M. Herbette's views on our policy towards Austria—A smash on my way to Compiègne—A conversation with General Pétain—The question of fronts occupied—Two contingencies for 1918—Difficult French position—General Pétain's latest *boutade*—Slow progress of American training—Colonel de Cointet's estimate of the German situation—Views of our mission at the G.Q.G.—Motor to Chaumont—General Pershing's Staff—The situation of the Americans described—They are impressed by our Army—General Pershing's views of the position—The American troops—Major Robert Bacon's views—Domrémy—A talk with General Trenchard—Radingham Château—Brig.-General Charteris on our strategy—General Plumer on Flanders fighting—General Horne at Ranchicourt—Talks at G.H.Q. at Blendecques—Sir Philip Sassoon—F.M. Sir D. Haig's views—General Kiggell on strategy—Strong objections to take over more of the line.

Tuesday, Oct. 2. Lunched at the Lockett Agnews'. Walked round to meet Londonderry at Londonderry House. He says that he finds the Nationalists in the Convention to be patriots and anxious to preserve the Crown and the Union. They are getting on well, but the crux will be to bring in the stalwarts of Ulster who do not want a settlement, and L. expects to be thrown over by them. He says that Carson must convince them. We walked to the War Office. I saw Jack Cowans, Fagalde,

and Maurice. Fagalde wants me to go and see Foch when I reach Paris. Maurice much concerned at the attitude of the Press towards air-raids and their cry that German towns must be bombed. We have only four bombing squadrons, and as they have each only 100 miles radius of action we must take them to Nancy to do any good, and meanwhile their offensive value in our front is lost. He was critical of the *Times* leader of yesterday on this subject. Trenchard turned up, and was irate about the folly of the same criticism. He says that the long-range bombing squadrons are not ready yet, and will not be ready till the winter. Somebody decidedly should be hanged for this after three years of war. I explained the situation in an article to the *Times*, but it did not get fully published.

Wednesday, Oct. 3. Left Charing Cross 11.50 A.M. and reached Boulogne after 5 P.M. A full boat and a roughish sea. Met Lovat on board, returning to Le Touquet where he has a large mess of all his foresters. We discussed politics. I was met at Boulogne by Major Comber, the Cambridge Don who does Intelligence at the port. He gave me dinner and we discussed French feeling. He says that Boulogne has made such a lot of money that it is compensated. He thinks that only some of the older men are against continuing the war, although he admits that there is fatigue. C. says that there have been many marriages between our men and French girls, and that the people think that the girls will bring back the men to their French homes after the war. Good-looking peasant girls of a better class seem the favourites. One mayor, on taking leave of a British cavalry regiment, referred to the many little souvenirs which it was leaving behind it. The Colonel thought that this was spoken sarcastically, and wrote a letter of regret, whereupon the mayor posted off to see him and assured him that this was not the case, and that the regiment had conferred a lasting benefit on the district. Left by the 9.10 P.M. for Paris. No sleeping cars, and had to sit up all night.

Thursday, Oct. 4. Reached the Ritz about 7 A.M. Found

it was a no-hot-water day, but managed to get a hot if shallow bath. Le Roy-Lewis came to see me. A talk of politics, love, and war. I then went to the Boulevard des Invalides to see General Foch, the Chief of Staff, who is installed at the old Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre rooms, with General Weygand, Colonel Georges, and a couple more of his old Army Staff. Found Lieut.-Colonel Spiers and Albert de Mun's son working together, Spiers being liaison officer between Foch and Robertson. He has been four times wounded, once very badly. He gave me a good account of things generally. Spiers is sure that the French offensive is coming off. I asked why the contrary view prevailed in London. He says that it cannot have arisen as the result of the last Boulogne Conference on Sept. 25, as he, Spiers, was there all the time, from 9 A.M. to 1.30 P.M., with Painlevé and L. G. alone, and then at the Soldiers' Conference in the afternoon. Spiers deals with Foch and Robertson alone, and he says that Fagalde, his opposite number in London, has some difficulties to contend with.

I saw General Foch in his office afterwards and found him as quick and intelligent as ever. He asked for my views first about London and the state of the Government and public opinion. I gave them. He then advised that we should use Japanese troops in Mesopotamia if we needed reinforcements there. He says that the Japanese will not go to the Russian front for fear of their troops becoming infected with Russian Socialism. I suggested that this was only a pretext to keep the Japanese free to deal with China, but Foch thinks that the Japanese are really afraid of Socialism. We agreed that the Japs could get to Mesopotamia easily and without fear of submarines, and also perhaps secretly. I asked F. if he had discussed this matter with Robertson, but F. said that he had not had time to do so. Foch is keen about pushing on the Greek divisions, of which he expects nine in all and not more. They can then either assist in an offensive or take our places if we come away. He does not think

that much will happen at Salonika, and at Gaza he supposes that Allenby will not be able to go faster than his railway can follow him, which is Murray's view. Foch is disgusted about Cadorna's refusal to prosecute his offensive, and has informed Cadorna that he does not agree with the reasons given for this decision. Cadorna has, however, stated that there are some reasons which he cannot give, and they are probably political. Foch says that it is a great pity, as the Austrians are at their wits' end and can do no more, but that the Germans are spending milliards to suborn Socialists and others and to make them stab people in the back. It is to these influences that the Italian Government appear to have succumbed. We and the French are withdrawing our heavy guns from Italy as a consequence of Cadorna's decision.

Spiers had told Weygand to warn Foch what I was going to say about the postponement of the French offensive, and had done this with my approval. When I raised the question Foch said that there had never been any question of abandoning the offensive, and that within eight days it would take place with twelve to fourteen divisions, news which will be a relief to Robertson. F. says that our gun output had gone down during the last three months, and I said that I would ask Churchill about it. Foch says that what he hoped for this year was an attack by the French and English Armies side by side, on a joint front of 80 to 100 kilometres, and that had this taken place the French could have brought 2600 heavy guns into play. Now this must be postponed till next year as it was too late in the year, but if it had been carried out the Boches would have been back on the Meuse. Foch thinks the guns and aeroplanes are the main thing, and he prefers the smaller infantry divisions, and more of them, to ours. He says that the French divisions are now only 5000 rifles, and the Boche about 7000. The French battalions have three companies and the Boche four, besides the machine-gun companies. It is all a question of aeroplanes and guns and the limited offensive as before. He says that he knows

no better men in our Army than Haig and Robertson for the positions which they occupy, and hopes that they will be left alone. He thinks that both Governments are weak and unduly afraid of the Socialists. L. G. had told him that he had to keep 4,000,000 men at work in England on munitions, etc., but Foch had told him of all the work to be done in France, of the need for their old classes to get to work on the land again, and of the need for France of wheat. Foch says that for the Americans alone the French have 300,000 men at work on the winter quarters for ten camps of Americans, and that as the Americans are using German ships of great length and draught the French have to build ports on the Atlantic to take them, and also railways to carry the plant forward. He will not say that there have been no differences with the Americans, but all is in course of settlement. Foch also said that the French have now 300 Russian-speaking officers in Russia on a mission to reorganise the Army morally and materially. They were to go to all the Group, Army, and Army Corps Headquarters, as well as to the regiments, and to preach the need for discipline in a Republic. He wished that we should do the same for the Russian Navy. Even if the French had only one-half the success that they had had with the Rumanians it would be well worth the trouble. We spoke of effectives, and I asked if it were correct that the French had not yet incorporated the 1919, 1918, and part of the 1917 classes. Foch said that this was true of the first two contingents. Then, I said, you have 350,000 of these young men available for drafts. Yes, he replied, including both of them, but he could not say exactly how many of the 1917 class were still available. The Americans promised 60,000 to 70,000 men a month.

I asked him if he was reassured about the effects of the submarine war, and whether he thought that the U-boats would prevent the continuation of the war. He said that he was reassured, provided the menace was kept within the present limits. He told me that his relations with the

French politicians, with Pétain, and with us were excellent. Drove to the Bois and had a good walk with Le Roy. We discussed French affairs and all the horrible scandals arising out of the Bolo, Bonnet Rouge, and Trumel affairs. It is all a great worry for Painlevé. Le Roy asked me the inevitable question about the end of the war, and I said that I saw no good reason why it should end until the Huns were more badly beaten. Since nations counted money no more than pebbles on a beach, and all would probably repudiate in one form or another at the end of the war, there seemed no reason for stopping, especially as so many people were growing rich by the war; the ladies liked being without their husbands, and all dreaded the settlement afterwards, industrial, political, financial, and domestic. A good story of the girl shopwoman struggling to ascertain the discount on the sale of some goods.

Dined with Le Roy at the Ritz. Esher came in, and we all then adjourned upstairs to talk. Sir Alan Johnstone, Mrs. Toby Long, and Geoffrey Glyn dining too. We discussed the inevitable subject. People ask me to tell the truth about the war and all the mismanagement of Man-Power, aircraft, minefields, etc., but I have to point out that a Government with a Censorship is the master of the Press, which is practically powerless. The whole beauty of Censorship is that it prevents military misgovernment from being shown up. Governing and misgoverning are then as easy as falling off a log. I was told that at the time of the change of Nivelle to Pétain our War Cabinet sent a telegram deprecating the change. This shows up their complete ignorance of the characters of the two men and of the position here in May last. John Murray is going to publish Esher's journal of the first two years of the war, and Esher says he hopes that the Government will like it. We talked till late of many things and people.

Friday, Oct. 5. Went round to the École Supérieur de la Guerre to visit Marshal Joffre. Found him handsomely installed and looking well and vigorous: much less worried than when I saw him last at Chantilly. He had so many

engagements that we put off our talk till the afternoon after a short and cordial conversation. His *chef du cabinet*, while I was waiting to see the Marshal, opened up the question of an Inter-Allied staff under the Marshal to direct the operations and prevent the present want of co-operation. He wants the Marshal to be at the head of two French Generals and one British, Russian, American, and Italian. I did not think much of the scheme, as no Power will accept a subordinate position, so I only said that I had been against the scheme but admitted that the question had somewhat changed its aspect since the Marshal has resumed an independent position.

Went to the Ministère de l'Armement and met Pernot and had a drive with him. M. Loisy received me, but the Minister M. Loucheur is on a strike conference all day so I cannot see him. Loisy assures me that all goes well, and that they are deeply indebted to our people for ferrying across the Atlantic all the steel which awaits the French at the New York docks. The details of Haig's fight yesterday are now to hand and show another success on the Passchendaele Ridge. Painlevé much worried in Parliament over the Bolo and other cases, but spoke up well yesterday and received an almost unanimous vote of confidence, but the feeling shown was not good. Lunched with Mrs. Toby Long: Sevastopoulo joined us for coffee, and was gloomy about Russia, but not without hope of an improvement. Pernot came afterwards. He is unhappy about Italy, and says that the Italians are furious with us for withdrawing our heavy guns, of which the French had 100 in Italy. He does not think a separate peace between Italy and Austria inconceivable. He thinks that the set made against Lord Bertie is unfortunate, and that the Ambassador has many friends and is much trusted. He says that the June troubles affected parts of two French divisions and that it was serious, but Pétain by a mixture of firmness and persuasion managed to put things right. He considers that we should take over more of the line, and that this is a primary interest of the French Government.

Went again to see Marshal Joffre, and we had an hour and a half's conversation. He began by saying that he did not wish me to mention him if I write anything for the Press, as any mention of him would be an ennui to the Government. I said that I wished to know his views on the general situation, and that the only personal matter which I wished to discuss was his position in the matter of the Inter-Allied staff question. He is evidently much in favour of it. He says that the operations have become very slatternly, as witness the fact that we had been fighting for six weeks alone, and that this gave an undue advantage to Germany. An Inter-Allied staff under his direction could centralise information and opinions, and even if they could not give orders, the directives issued would be valuable to all Governments, if only in a consultative sense. He said that he had, without consulting his Government, first assembled a conference of this character at Chantilly in June 1915, and that it was the first of five or six reunions of this character. Certain decisions had been taken as to the character and date of Allied offensives, a margin of three weeks to a month being allowed to each Power, because in a month the Germans could make no important alterations as between East and West. He had only informed his Government of the decisions when made, and they had been glad to have them and had accepted them. The successful campaign of 1916 had been fought under this system. Joffre described the old Cabinet Councils and War Councils of the Viviani and Briand Governments as most unbusinesslike ; there was no *procès verbal* in either case, and usually no decisions. I said that ours belonged to the same family. Joffre had at last insisted that the agenda papers should be sent to him beforehand, and then he either wrote or caused to be written a short memorandum on each question, and he ended these with a *questionnaire* which demanded an answer Yes or No. Thereby decisions were obtained, and some sort of consecutive ideas were pursued, but he did not know what the practice was now.

The Marshal said that his plan for 1917 was prepared in

December 1916, and the attack was planned for February 15. He was beginning all his preparations, including railways towards the region from which the Boches retired, when he fell. His plan was immediately changed; the troops were sent to different places, and his railways were stopped. Therefore when the Boches retired we had no facilities for pursuit. His plan was for a joint offensive on an eighty-mile front, and it would have led to a close pursuit when the Boches retired. He tried hard to convince me that the limited offensive was costly and inadvisable. He said that with the limited offensive we only captured a small part of the enemy's line, and did not shift his artillery, hence heavy losses on our side and nothing done. It was necessary to go further to reach the enemy's guns. I objected that if the enemy's guns were not shifted our superior guns would all be ranged upon the Germans, and that as we were superior we should smash up the German guns, but Joffre said that other German guns would come up from the reserve. This seemed to me an argument *après coup*. Anyhow he does not approve of the limited offensive and prefers his own old style. It is a *querelle d'école*, and appears to me to depend on relative strengths in men and guns. When we get a good superiority of numbers we can revert to the Marshal's tactics.

He was very enthusiastic about his visit to America, and said that it had consoled him for all that he had suffered. I asked whether the Staff preparation of the movement from America to France rested on solid bases, whether the Americans could find the transport for their increasing numbers, and whether they could maintain themselves in food and ammunition. He thought that the Staff preparation was good and that he could give me an assurance about food and ammunition. He had left two good officers of his Staff in America, and they helped and kept him informed. At present the French were feeding the American troops, but the Americans were to repay this advance in kind. There were 63,000 Americans in France at present, but only one division, the rest being administrative troops,

railway engineers, etc. I could count on 60,000 men a month coming over. In addition to the 400,000 tons allotted to transport, other resources would soon be available. Pershing was at Chaumont, and Joffre was going there in ten days' time. He spoke highly of the West Point officers, but admitted that the American lump wanted much leavening. Things were going well, but he was not sure how the Americans would frame in operations, and evidently had some doubt on this subject. The Marshal is never consulted about the war, and is in much the same position as Lord French in this matter. He could not say whether his plan for 1917 would be applicable to 1918, as all would depend on circumstances and the general situation, but he said that our Flanders offensive had little strategic effect. He asked me to come and see him again whenever I was in Paris.

In the evening M. Painlevé, the French Prime Minister, Le Roy, and I dined together in Le Roy's rooms at the Ritz. Painlevé was looking fit and well, with a good colour, and his comparative youth must aid him in all his strenuous work. He ate and drank sparingly, and only smoked a couple of cigarettes afterwards. He said how much he was indebted to me and Le Roy for helping him over the difficult time when he was struggling to secure Pétain's appointment to the chief command, and spoke with some warmth of the 'horrible despatch' which our War Cabinet had sent on this subject. He supposed that our Cabinet was completely misinformed about the situation at the time. He was much surprised to hear that an impression prevailed in London that the French were not going to attack. They certainly would, and with a good force. We lost ourselves in conjectures how the contrary impression had been produced in London.

We then discussed the political affairs of the hour, and Painlevé said that there had never been such an angry séance as yesterday's. He had become Prime Minister by force of circumstances and not by his own wish, for he liked the War Ministry and preferred it to the other post.

He still retains the War Ministry. He says that it is true that no records are kept of Cabinet meetings or even of the War Council proceedings. The object is to prevent the Government from being compelled to produce records of the proceedings by a vote in Parliament. He said that Bolo was sure to be shot. His relations with the Boches were proved. People were trying to implicate Poincaré because the President had received Bolo twice, but he received many people. I asked why the censorship had stopped the publication of the proceedings in regard to Bolo in this morning's papers. He said that he, Painlevé, would not allow mud to be thrown and for the country to be harassed by accusations which were probably groundless. It was the accusation of Bolo that was in question, and the affair would pursue its course. Painlevé thought that the whole affair with this sham Pasha, his reputed wealth, his relations with Abbas Hilmi and various women, was like a comic opera in the setting. It is extraordinary that this man should have been able to continue his life since 1911 unchecked, and to have taken in so many people. Monier had been most imprudent, to say the least, and Humbert had not come well out of yesterday's debate. It was all a great worry. This Valparaiso coiffeur and his Montmartre singing girl for wife were an extraordinary couple. It was incredible that millions had been poured out by Germany to corrupt people and to buy papers, and Painlevé did not think that they had gained much by this expenditure.

We then talked effectives and the question of our taking over part of the French line. Painlevé has this point much at heart, and wishes us to take over the front of two French armies. He said, to my surprise, that the matter had been agreed upon in principle between himself, L. G., Foch, and Robertson at the last Boulogne Conference on Sept. 24-25. It was necessary to send back some of the older classes for the sake of agriculture, and to give as many troops as possible a good rest; not necessarily for longer than the winter, he added, in response to a question of

mine. Le Roy pointed out that much depended on the Boche strength in our front. I said that I would endeavour to study this question at Pétain's and Haig's headquarters, and Painlevé said that I could not render France a greater service than by supporting the French view.

Saturday, Oct. 6. Wrote in the morning. Lunched with Le Roy and Mr. and Mrs. Addison of our Embassy. She is a pretty woman with reddish hair : they live at Passy. Went off afterwards to call on M. Clemenceau at his *rez-de-chaussée* in No. 8 Rue Franklin. Clemenceau is seventy-seven and as full of life and fire as ever. We sat down opposite each other at his writing table. I said that he had not written much about the war lately and that I wanted to know his views. He said that he had not written much about the war because one had to tell lies, and this was uncongenial to him. He approves of Pétain, whom he thinks the man for this phase of the war. I said that because Pétain was doing the right thing now this was no reason why he should not do right again when circumstances justified a change of tactics. C. likes Foch. C. and I agreed that no better men could be chosen than these two. General Mangin had just left Clemenceau, who has a high opinion of him as a soldier, and says that he has been complimented by the Court of Inquiry on which Foch, Brugère, and Gouraud are assessing the April offensive. He had tried to induce Mangin not to refuse the command of an Army Corps.

Clemenceau thought that the French could go on, but that we should take two years more to win the war. The English took their punishment in silence ; the French made too many gestes and grimaces ; the Boches were like dogs, who came to heel when kicked and always would. He had no hope of peace coming through any influence in Germany outside the governing class, but when the Kaiser had had enough of the war it would stop. He was sure that the war would be decided on a stricken field on the Western front, as it was for Napoleon on a battlefield no larger than the Place de la Concorde. He and I had been

right about Salonika from the first, but he said that he was almost the only man in France who had opposed this folly. He said that the Japanese had refused to send troops to Mesopotamia, and we discussed alternatives only to reject them.

The real trouble in France, continued Clemenceau, was want of wheat and the staleness of French troops on their too extended and too weak front. The French peasant could do without meat, but he lived on bread. France had only grown 35,000,000 hectolitres of wheat instead of 85,000,000 before the war, and had no wheat beyond February next. The reduction in the harvest was due to want of labour and manures. All the fields were cultivated, but not well. The Argentine crop in December next fortunately promised well. The troops were also tired, and if the French were to go on in 1918 we must take over more of their line, and permit some Frenchmen to get to work on the next crop and others to rest at their homes. He had been round all the fronts constantly and had spoken to many generals and officers and men, and he was sure of his ground. What did I think of it ?

I said that one could not regard the matter from the narrow point of view of so many men per yard, as if we were the garrison of a defensive line. The character of the country and the strength of the enemy also entered into the problem, and on many parts of the French front the enemy only retained a screen. But more important still, I thought, was the plan for 1918, which should be made directly our present attacks were arrested by the weather. We should then agree, let us say, to attack on a joint front of 100 miles in districts where the ground was open and suitable to our superior artillery, and allot the necessary troops to this front. Then the minimum needed for the defensive occupation of other parts of the front could be settled amicably. Clemenceau agreed with this point of view.

He also told me that Ribot had told him two or three days ago that the Germans had made a peace offer to

France, offering her Alsace-Lorraine and most of the left bank of the Rhine if she would abandon England. He thought it a proof of German weakening, and that it was interesting. Fortunately, he added, the agreement of the Allies not to make a separate peace stood in the way. No doubt the same thing was going on in Russia and Italy. Clemenceau says that he has seen the official figures of losses as President of the Army Commission, and that the French dead number 1,300,000. Painlevé had told me between 1,100,000 and 1,200,000, and had said that I could describe the French net loss as that of five generations, by which he meant five yearly classes, and this is certainly correct. Clemenceau is not satisfied with the behaviour of the women of France, and was sarcastic about them, saying that they were all for money, furs, and jewels, just as some of our munition girls are, but he admitted that many worked hard in the fields and munition factories. Clemenceau lives an odd life. He would not dine in town as he says that he goes to bed at 8, rises between 1 and 2 A.M. to do his work, and has everything ready when his man calls for his copy at 6 A.M. He then does his work on the Committees and in the Senate. I told him that his hours were those of Napoleon when he was campaigning. We had a cordial leave-taking, but I wish the old 'tiger' would preach peace in politics instead of battle.

Captain Philip Millet came in to tea. He is now at 243 Boulevard St. Germain. He visits England and keeps the French Government informed of all that we are doing, sending in frequent reports. He declares that the French have not copied our system of utilising waste lands, and that the French peasants make enough with little labour to keep themselves in affluence without too much toil to make the land bear its full crop. He considers that these are the causes of the deficit which Clemenceau mentioned. He also said that Fabian Ware had told him that there were 250,000 registered British graves in France. I was laid up with a colic in the evening, from eating the vile French war-bread, and could not sit through dinner with

Le Roy, Sir Alan, and Mrs. Toby Long. I told Le Roy about Clemenceau's report of Ribot's observation with regard to the German offer of peace to France, and Le Roy passed it on at once to Lord Bertie. We expect that it is one of the many hares started by the Boches.

Sunday, Oct. 7. Went to look up Joan Wodehouse, who has been helping to nurse 700 French soldiers most of the war at the Hôpital Complémentaire, Val de Grace, No. 1 Rue Pasteur. She is living with Mdlle. de Verez at 16 Quai de Passy. She tells me that the moral of the French troops at the front was bad in June after Nivelle's failure, but is now good. She says, however, that the wounded in hospital are gloomy, and that they are much upset by the French papers with the accounts of all the scandals and treacheries, and ask whether such a Government and such rascals are worth fighting for. I advised her to tell them that they were fighting for France, and that all the Allied Armies had rotten Governments. She came on to lunch with me, Mrs. Long, and Sir Alan at the Ritz. She says that she is living in a Royalist circle where the Duc d'Orléans' portrait hangs on one side of a room and Marie Antoinette's on another. The Duc is always spoken of as the King, and old Mme. de Verez thinks him an angel from heaven and of irreproachable character. Joan says that she has lost her heart to the *poilus*, who write her stacks of sentimental letters after they have left the hospital. Sir Alan off to Lady J.'s hospital, and Mrs. Long going back to her Y.M.C.A. hut at Abbeville.

M. Herbette of the *Temps* came to see me. He writes the leader every day in Tardieu's place. I gave him my ideas of the situation for his paper. Herbette likes Painlevé, but disapproves of his reading out Daudet's letter in the Chambers accusing M. Malvy of being a traitor. Joan, by the way, says that her Royalist hosts are mixed up with the *Action Française*, and that the staff all carry revolvers for fear of a Calmette coup by the Malvy party. Herbette thinks that Painlevé has no parliamentary gifts and will not stay long. The question of the next Ministry

will depend upon the result of the Socialist Conference at Bordeaux. Herbette is inclined to favour Viviani, with Clemenceau as a second string. We marvelled at Clemenceau's unchanging youth and vigour, but Herbette says that the younger deputies cannot understand him. Herbette wants a separate peace with Austria, believing that if we try for a separate peace with Bulgaria we shall have all the States surrounding Bulgaria against us. He wishes to aggrandise Austria in Russian Poland, and to proceed by granting autonomy to Bohemia, to a Southern Slav territory, to a Poland under an Austrian prince, to the Ukraine, etc. He is not opposed to a U.S. guardianship of the Straits, but imagines that in case of any change here—and he prefers the Greeks to the Yankees—Russia and Germany will eventually combine against any such arrangement. He says that Italy must have the Trentino and Trieste, with a sphere of influence in Asia Minor, or the Italian monarchy will fall, and we must take steps to help her to take Trieste if Austria will not agree. Herbette's idea is that Russia is no longer an aggressive State or a danger to Austria, and that therefore the latter is tending to regard Germany as her chief rival. Austria should have the Bocche di Cattaro as her Adriatic base, and a Serbian outlet must be discovered in the same sea. Herbette wants to take part of Alsace in the spring as a hostage, but I told him that a blow at the Army heart of Germany seemed preferable to me, as its success would make her give way elsewhere. Herbette is going to start an anti-Bulgaria campaign in order to help his Austrian plan. He says that Balfour knows all about the German peace offer, or *piège* as he calls it. He also told me that there were means of communicating directly with Austria without passing through the Vatican, and that when fifty million people in Austria know that they can have peace, Germany will not be able to prevent it. In Paris they talk of the Saint Piège in place of the Saint Siège. Herbette thinks that the Russians are already sick of their Revolution, but that in the general chaos Kerensky can do as he likes.

In the afternoon I motored to Compiègne. A high wind and heavy rain. Just beyond Chapelle en Serval, about half-way on my journey, the motor *capotéd* in trying to avoid a collision on the greasy road, and we turned over going sixty kilometres an hour. The chauffeur was chucked clear. I was imprisoned in the car, which was upside down, and found it ridiculously hard to get out. The petrol was leaking into the car everywhere, but fortunately did not catch fire, and I got clear without a scratch. An old lady, running up to be in at the death, fainted in my arms because I was not killed, from sheer disappointment. Walked back in a rain storm to Chapelle and telephoned to Compiègne for a relief car as ours was past praying for. Spent an hour and a half at Chapelle with Mdlle. Ayard, the *directrice des postes*, and her mixed staff. We talked politics and the scandals. They were all cursing the Government, and asking whether it was worth while to go on fighting for such a canaille. I pointed out that this was just the effect which the Boches hoped to produce by their bribery, and bet her two sous that Bolo would be shot. She told me that the district produced beet mainly, and that though the fields were less well cultivated than formerly, the farmers were very well off. The deterioration of farming she put down to the despondency caused by the length of the war and the loss of the men in battle. But good business was being done with the troops by the grocers, fruiterers, wine merchants, and small traders.

Reached Compiègne three-quarters of an hour late for dinner and found Pétain nearly finished, with eight other officers. I was cold and wet. After dinner we adjourned to an adjoining room, where all the staff made their bows and retired. I said that I wanted to discuss two questions with him, the extension of the British front and the eternal question of effectives. He produced a portfolio of papers on the first question. The first paper which he drew out showed that we occupied—so far as I can recall the figure—197 kilometres of front and the French 670 ; that we had 1,300,000 combatants against 845,000 Germans; that the French had

1,130,000 combatants against 1,139,000 Germans; and that Anthoine's six divisions, and the 110,000 Belgians, were included in the figures on the British front. Pétain said that he was too thin, and that he wished us to take over the fronts now held by his 3rd and 6th Armies on our right, a total additional front of 90 kilometres, which would bring us to the Soissons region. He said that his numbers would fall by attrition between the present date and March next, and that he would have to break up 10 divisions, which would leave him with only 100. He had men up to 47 years of age in the ranks, while we had men only up to 42. On the other hand, the French 1919 class were not yet *censés*. France was avaricious of expending her young men, and we of our older men. He did not want to lose men from the front, but he needed to create a reserve of two Armies behind his line for contingencies, so that his military object accords with Painlevé's political aim. He has told Painlevé that for every 50,000 men that are sent home he will have to reduce 3 divisions. This is in addition to the 10 which he must automatically lose by March next.

Pétain's view of the war is that we must prepare for two contingencies, one in which we can attack in 1918, and the other in which the Germans bring over so many divisions from the East that we are thrown upon the defensive. The addition of American divisions is not likely to produce before March a greater profit than the French normal attrition produces loss. Pétain is prepared to admit that anything from 30 to 60 German divisions may come West, and that we shall be duly apprised of their advent. In either case he will need a general reserve of two Armies, and he cannot find them unless we can take over more line. He admits that the decision on this subject can be postponed until the present operations are concluded. Rawlinson's 4th Army will then be available for Haig; the Belgians will resume their places; and the French Groupement de Nieuport will return to its old place. He, Pétain, was about to attack the German salient on the Aisne, and could not

afford to fail. He had been delayed by the question of the 100 heavy guns in Italy, but would attack without doubt.

Pétain said that he entertained no doubt that he would encounter opposition when he raised the question with Haig of the extension of the British front. He spoke highly of Haig, with whom his relations were excellent. Haig's opinion was that the British Government wished the British Armies to attack, and that the French Government did not wish theirs to do so. Haig therefore thought that he should retain a preponderance for this purpose, a view which seemed to me very reasonable if the premises were correct. Haig, said Pétain, meant to continue this offensive in Flanders next year. Pétain's position would then become delicate, for he would be weak, unable to attack anywhere, or to fill gaps made by a German offensive with their troops from the Russian front. Pétain wishes to attack in Champagne next year, and wishes us to attack on the St. Quentin front, when we shall, if successful, nip between us the Boche front behind the Aisne, the direction of our offensive being easterly and Pétain's northerly. I asked Pétain whether he had discussed his plan for 1918 with Haig. Pétain said that he had not, and had not told any one but me. I said that I thought, in these circumstances, that I should not mention the plan to Haig, and Pétain agreed.

Pétain asked what I thought of this situation. I said that I had not spoken to Robertson or Haig on these great questions, and that my views were entirely my own. I objected altogether to the calculation of forces and kilometres as though we were the passive garrisons of a fortress or a trench system. I thought that the preliminary need was to settle the front or fronts of attack for 1918, then to decide what forces were to be used on these fronts, and then to allot the residue to the fronts where neither of us were attacking. I could not admit that we should first detail the troops for the defensive fronts and then allot the residue to the attacks. This I understood to have been the practice in the past, and I wholly disapproved of it. Such a great attack as he and I had in our minds was sure

to attract to itself all the German reserves if we had the initiative, and would consequently protect indirectly our defensive fronts. I said that we could have the initiative if we attacked early enough, say by February 15, in principle, but as to the questions of the fronts of attack and Pétain's plan, I could say nothing of value until I knew what our people thought of it. I also allowed that if 30 to 60 German divisions came West next year and were added to the 38 German divisions at the present moment in reserve on the Western front, we were certainly in no position to make a general attack, and should have to dig and wire ourselves well in, and wait for 1919 and for the Americans. Much depended, therefore, on what the Russians could do, and here we were in the region of conjecture. Pétain said that he had ordered his people to give him no more reports about the Russians until they did something. I approved of the general plan of the two Armies attacking in co-operation, and as for the St. Quentin attack which Pétain proposed, I admitted that we could probably attack there earlier in the year than in Flanders, and so had a better chance of seizing the initiative. I said that I should have to study the ground, and particularly the passage of the Oise. There had been two successful passages of great rivers by the Germans in the war, over the Danube and the Dvina, but against inferior or undisciplined troops, while ours on the Aisne had been against Germans temporarily in retreat. I thought the passage of a great river a formidable affair in these days.

Pétain said that he foresaw great difficulties when he discussed these matters with Haig. He thought that our people were very tenacious of their ideas, kept a straight course, but ran in blinkers—and he held up his hands to his face to show what he meant. He had the greatest respect for Haig and admired his tenacity and the great achievements of our Armies, but could not think that our attack in Flanders was good strategy. What did I think of it, and was not the strategy imposed upon us by our Admiralty ?

I replied that on the latter point I had no information, but that I thought killing Boches was always good business, and that Haig was killing a lot. Also, he had freed Ypres from strangulation, and now on his whole front had the best of the ground and could, at need, hold it defensively with reduced effectives. This was worth doing. But if the strategical objective were the submarine bases, I thought this of second-rate importance, as the best German submarines came from German and not Flanders ports. As for the Low Countries, I said Pétain knew that my preference was to keep out of them, because one could fight anywhere except in water and mud. I thought that an advance down the Meuse was the correct strategic line of attack for us to adopt, and had so told Lord French as early as 1914, since it had offered the most brilliant results if successful; but if this could not be prosecuted,—and I knew no reason why it could not be—then I did not much care what line was selected so long as our two Armies acted in co-operation. I was doubtful whether a repetition of 1915 in 1918 would pay, but must first learn our G.H.Q. view more completely. I wanted to see our respective Armies act within co-operating distance, and to choose good open ground where our superior artillery would give its full value.

We then discussed the moral of the French, and Pétain told me of the terrible time he had passed through last June. The moral was now completely re-established at the front. He only feared the rear and the effect of current scandals and treacheries. He had inspected 80 divisions since he had assumed command, and spent from two to four nights in the train each week. He liked Painlevé, whom he considered an honest man, but had to admit that he did not shine as Prime Minister, and would not last long. He got on well with Clive of our Mission here and told him everything, but Pétain's officers at our G.H.Q. did not receive all the information asked for, and Pétain said that he had only a very approximate idea of our numbers. His officers at G.H.Q. were told that the details would not interest the French, though these matters stood

at the base of all calculations. He was merely informed that the British would have a difficulty in keeping up their strength after December. He said that Charteris killed off the Germans too quickly, and that he and Davidson egged on Haig to believe that he was winning the war when we were still far from that desirable consummation.

I asked Pétain if his latest *boutade* was true. I had heard that after my last visit he had said to M. Poincaré, 'Personne n'est mieux placé que vous, M. le Président, de savoir que la France est ni gouvernée ni commandée.'[1] Pétain said that it was true, and that Poincaré had been very cross about it at the time. We discussed the Italian front, and agreed that 500 heavy guns lent to Italy for next March should enable Cadorna to take Trieste. Pétain said that we had not sent enough guns to Italy to turn the balance, and this was the reason why Cadorna has suspended his offensive. Pétain said that he had visited the Americans and thought well of them, but that the 1st Division was taking five months to train in France, and that at this rate things would move very slowly. He was interested in Joffre's views about them. We talked of other matters till late, and Pétain told me that he had to attend a War Council in the morning, but would leave word that I could see anything that I wanted to see in his bureaux.

Monday, Oct. 8. Put up last night with Clive's Mission. Went round early to see Colonel de Cointet of the second bureau, whom I had made friends with at Verdun last year. I asked him to give me a rapid sketch of the situation as he saw it. He said that the situation of Germany internally, and with regard to supply of food and raw material, promised to be worse next year than this, but that politically the Junkers had taken the counter-offensive and were now in control. There had been some acts of indiscipline involving units up to a battalion strong, but nothing that could be called a mutiny on an important scale. The Boches had 5,600,000 men mobilised and serving in the

[1] I heard afterwards that Poincaré had replied, 'Vous plaisantez, mon général.' 'Mais pas du tout,' replied Pétain.

aggregate. Of these there were 2,200,000 in the West, and 1,400,000 in the East, where strengths were not maintained. There were 500,000 to 530,000 at the depots, including 380,000 of the 1919 class. The balance were *étappen*, coast, and other garrison and administrative troops. The total yearly class is 550,000, but only 450,000 are fit to serve, and exemptions reduce the figure to 380,000. These men and the wounded are all that Germany has to keep up her strengths. The depots have never been so weak. Only the barracks were occupied by them now, and it was known from agents in Germany that billets and other quarters which formerly held the overflow were now empty.

The Germans had now 148 divisions in the West and 91 in the East. Of the 148 in the West, 54 had been taken out of the line for repairs since April last. The Germans had 38 divisions in reserve in the West ; these are included in the 148. This figure appeared large, but actually it only sufficed for local needs. There were 39 divisions from the sea to the British right, but some 8 or 9 of these faced the French and the Belgians, while on the French front, between the left of the 3rd French Army and Belfort, the enemy had 107 divisions. The German Headquarters, which had been at Kreuznach for some months, now arranged the reinforcements on the West as a whole, and special reserves in Army sectors had been abolished. De Cointet says that Haig has 24 divisions in reserve, and evidently considers that we are 'on velvet' in comparison with the French. He said nothing of all the many Hun divisions on the French front which have been sent to fight us, but as I did not know the details I did not allude to them.[1]

I had a talk with Clive and the officers of his Mission. Clive is a good man, and Woodroffe is a hearty fellow with a good open face. They say that if the War Office do not believe in Pétain's offensive, it is because they trust

[1] Actually, 131 German divisions were engaged and defeated by less than half that number of British divisions during the operations of Arras, Messines, Lens and Ypres, in 1917 : *vide* F.M. Sir D. Haig's Despatch of December 25, 1917, par. 61.

to reports other than those from the Mission. These officers agree that our attack in 1918 should be co-ordinated with that of the French, and it was suggested that if Haig and Pétain could not agree, Foch and Robertson should be called in. Clive favours Haig's projects in the North. He says that if we are to win with the French, we must win in 1918, because the French will not be able to go on longer. Clive thought that Haig and Pétain were like horse-copers, one of whom is prepared to give more than he offers, and the other to accept less than he asks. Clive says that it is all a question of how much we are all prepared to spend in casualties next year. Pétain had expended 40,000 men in his last push at Verdun, and Clive does not place a French class now at over 140,000. Clive wants 500,000 drafts assured to enable Haig to go on.

Motored back to Paris. Found Mrs. Astor and Lady Essex just arrived, and Mrs. Leeds and Lady Paget coming to-morrow. Dined with the Comtesse Jeanne de Salverte. She was very gay and amusing, but we did not talk affairs at all.

Tuesday, Oct. 9, *to Thursday, Oct.* 11. Motored via Provins and Troyes, 170 miles, to Chaumont, the Headquarters of the American Expeditionary Force. Went into a bookseller's shop at Troyes and was taken for a Yankee. 'Vous venez nombreux, Monsieur?' he asked with obvious anxiety. 'Quelques millions, Monsieur,' I replied cheerfully, and never saw a man look happier. General Pershing's General Headquarters are established in a barrack built round three sides of a quadrangle, and they are convenient for the present scale of the establishment, but will soon prove too small. Pershing was created a General yesterday. He is only the fourth American general since Washington, the other three having been Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman. His Staff includes Brig.-General J. Harbord, Chief of the General Staff, a cool and capable man, self-possessed, and somewhat like the late Sir Charles Douglas; Brig.-General B. Alvord, Adjutant-General, a pleasant man, not very strong looking, and rather old;

Brig.-General Rogers, Q.M.G.; Brig.-General Bradley, head of the Medical Services, a clever man and a good doctor; Major-General Blatchford, Commanding General of the Line of Communications, an oldish man with whiskers, and his troubles with the French seem numerous. The Chief Signal Officer is Brig.-General Russell. The name of the Chief of Aviation Service is Kenley, of the Ordnance General Williams, and the J.A.G. is General Bethell. Major Robert Bacon, who was once Secretary of State and also Ambassador in Paris, is serving as a *bonne à tout faire* on the Staff, and nominally as Commandant at Headquarters. A pleasant Captain Patton is in command of the headquarters' troop of cavalry, and I think of a company of marines also here. The A.D.C.s, or *aides* as they are called, are Captain Boyd who seems to be much in Pershing's confidence, and Captain Shallenberger, a strong hardy type. There is a large French Mission, under a general, to help the Americans in their dealings with local authorities of all kinds, and we have, or rather Haig has, a liaison officer with Pershing, namely, Colonel Cyril Wagstaff, a good practical man and a typical English soldier, who appears to me to carry out his delicate duties with great tact and good sense, and to make himself helpful to all. The American officers are constantly seeking his advice. They come to his room one after another without ceasing. They know very little of practical soldiering. One came in one day while I was in Wagstaff's room and said, 'Say, Colonel, when you have to move troops by rail what do you do?' Wagstaff had to explain the whole process from A to Z.

The present Staff is merely a skeleton of what it will be. There are, for example, only four officers in the A.G.'s Branch, and there are to be 60. There are only 1000 doctors arrived out of 20,000, and so on. Pershing and his chief lieutenants are in what they call a 'formative' state, that is to say that they are busy building up an organisation; and never having done anything of this sort before, they are groping their way about in the dark, and are searching

for models in our Army and the French. The H.Q. Staff is at present out of touch with the American troops, namely, the 1st, 26th, and another division now arriving, and it will be the divisional commanders, for some little time, who will have to pan out for themselves. General Sibert's 1st Division, largely Regular with 20 per cent. of old soldiers, is at Gondrecourt, some two hours distant by motor. The 26th is arriving at Neufchâteau, also some way off, and the Staff is at present too busy puzzling out and creating the organisation to be much with the troops. All the big ships, owing to their draught, have to go to Liverpool, where they break bulk and the men come on by Southampton and Havre. The last arrived division lost all its belongings on the way, and 10,000 of them reached Neufchâteau before their divisional commander and his staff, with only their personal effects, and without anything else, not even doctors or rations or bedding or cooking utensils. General Bradley said to me that it was ' worse than in 1898 ' —the war with Spain.

I do not think that the American Staff realises, as it will later, that it is the servant and minister of the troops. It is impossible to admit the system which makes the Chief of Staff and his secretary the narrow neck of the bottle through which all papers reach Pershing. It is our old ' Chief Staff Officer ' system, and instead of the Chief of the Staff dealing only with Operations, Intelligence, and Training, as he does with us, he is here the intermediary between some 17 American departments and the general, and these 17 branches are not grouped under group commanders, so that Pershing and Harbord have an intolerable number of people to see, and an overwhelming mass of administrative matters to attend to apart from all their difficulties with the French. The Americans do not yet understand what a General Staff means. It has been ignored or snubbed in the past, and, having become academic, it stands apart from the troops and *is* not, Pershing says, too popular with them. Though we send Americans all our Intelligence reports, not one has yet reached the 1st

Division, and the divisions know little or nothing of what is going on. What is needed is to group all the Staffs under a few chief men, for the latter alone to see Pershing, to take responsibility on their own shoulders, and to leave Pershing more free to exercise command and have leisure to follow the operations and then to direct them. I hope that this may come later, but it has not come yet.

The American Army have always been much scattered, and are not well known to each other unless they happen to have served together in the same regiment or post. They have no common doctrine of any kind. They are taken aback by the immensity of the problem before them, and find themselves in a child's suit among Allies completely armed in mail. They are largely ignorant of the practical side of soldiering, and whatever they do they find before them a French wall of difficulties which they have to get over, under, or round. They have no control over railways or any part of the country. If they want to build a hospital the indent for the ground has to go to Compiègne, and then the engineers have long discussions with the French Mission and French public departments how the building material is to be obtained, where the wood is to be cut, and how it is to be brought up. All this takes time. Besides, each American Department scheme has to be argued like a legal case with the other sixteen departments before Pershing can settle it, and, in fact, the peace system of an out-of-date Army is being subjected to the terrific strain of a great war. The men even bring their kit boxes and beds from America, but this can hardly continue. All the same, the West Point officers are very good, all the departments are filled with keen, intelligent, and zealous men, and I feel confident that all these difficulties born of inexperience will be overcome if time allows. They would be overcome quicker would the Americans ask us frankly to help them more, but Wagstaff and all our people wait until they are consulted, and rightly, and so things are going very slowly. No one in this world learns from the experience of any-

body else. It will not do to try and force things on the Americans.

The Americans are enormously impressed by our Army and its operations. Many have gone up there to see the fighting and have returned full of enthusiasm and admiration. They begin to realise that instead of dislike or jealousy we all feel a deep and semi-paternal pride in them and are longing to help them. But we fear that they may mistake our feelings for condescension. So we take no initiative. They attend all our schools and special courses, some American officers insisting upon going through as privates, as Colonel McAndrew did in our 2nd Army bombing school, and then the officers who are thus instructed conduct divisional schools of their own in the A.E.F., and here are formed instructors for the coming American Army schools in all the different specialities. These will probably be at Langres. In general, they are taking the French regulations for the battery and battalion, since the French are training them, but our system for all larger units, for the General Staff system so far as theory is concerned, and for all schools. The language link is too solid to be broken in a time of stress. The Intelligence system has been taken word for word from our organisation, but, of course, this is not the same thing while Pershing acts as a sort of Secretary of State. Colonel Walker has Operations, with Colonel Fox Conner as an efficient second; Colonel Nolan has Intelligence, and he appeals to me; Colonel Malone, Training; and Colonel W. Conner the Co-ordination Branch. Intelligence, under Nolan and Lieut.-Colonel Conger, is divided up precisely as with us. All these General Staff organs are already at work in embryonic form, and I went round them. They have but to grow to be all right, but the character of the American Staff College training has been academic, and faults will persist until the General Staff have a more proper and assured position, are kept in closer contact with the troops, and Brig.-General Harbord ceases to be also an intermediary between Pershing and all the administrative branches. At my suggestion

Harbord rode over to the French Mission and asked for a copy of Pétain's *citation* of the 2nd Army Staff. It will explain to the Americans what a General Staff of an Army has to do in war. At present all is much too amateurish for the Army to be trusted in operations, and Pershing's mind is not free enough for the business. Joffre was right in his doubt on this point, and Pershing, in plainly hinting to me that little could be effected until late in the summer of 1918, seemed to me to have a correct perception of his weaknesses. It would be folly, if not murder, to hurry him into the fighting line, good though I think his regular men and officers are individually.

General Pershing put me up at his house, and I dined with him and eight of his chief officers, including Robert Bacon, who is an attractive figure. I sat next to Pershing. There was only water to drink, but the Chaumont water is first-rate. Pershing told me that tonnage was his principal anxiety, and he is far from assured about the submarines, feeling uncertain whether the U-boats are sparing him by order. He tells me that from 7 to 8 tons a man are needed for the Atlantic passage, including everything belonging to the divisions. The first circular trip of the transports took 55 days, but this has now fallen to 41. The time taken for the actual passage in convoy is 13 days. With these data any one can calculate the useful output of 400,000 tons gross of shipping, and this output is evidently quite inadequate, but Pershing hopes that the tonnage will much increase by March next. I suggested that Japan should be asked for 400,000 tons, which she can spare, and on returning to Paris found that this had been arranged, but apparently only for ships to be built, which is quite a different thing.

The Americans have 16 camps in the U.S. with 32 divisions, and other divisions form as divisions come across. There are 1,500,000 men in training. The troops bring everything with them to Europe except the guns which are being made by us and the French, and only draw upon the French for eggs and fresh vegetables. Even the milk comes from America in tins, and the meat is frozen or tinned. I found

that I had been misinformed on this matter. There is no doubt about it, for I inspected the white flour, saw the American frozen meat and its labels in the cook-houses, and had opened for me the iron rations and tinned milk. The flour makes the best white bread that I have eaten for many months. The French are certainly not feeding these Americans, who are trying to build up a reserve of food. I do not feel sure that the promised French guns will come along, and I gave Colonel Nolan a warning to watch the construction, and he promised that he would. He says that if the French monthly surplus output of 75's is 300 guns only, as I was told by Fagalde, it will not be enough. Pershing hinted to me that he did not expect to have a serious Army for offensive operations before the autumn of 1918, and I doubt that he means to go into the line before he has 12 to 20 divisions ready and trained. I am not sure whether it is understood that units must go into the line to train. He tells me that he is not taking over French railways because these supply certain French districts, a task which he cannot assume, but he is bringing over engines, rolling stock, and rails for sidings, and will lay his own light lines in advance of his railheads when he comes into the line. At present his troop-trains take three days to arrive from St. Nazaire instead of the ten hours that they would take over the same distance in America.

Pershing laid stress upon the fact that the whole of his organisation had been entirely created here since the arrival in June last, on the 13th I think it was. I did not ask him where he proposed to take over a part of the line as I learnt from his officers that he was keeping an open mind about it, and his A.G. told me that the reinforcement troops would be so placed that they could come towards us if Pershing decided to take over the line nearer to us. I think that the majority at least want to be alongside of us.[1] Before they arrived they all thought

[1] This question was ultimately decided by the trace of the French railway system and the necessity for good communications from the coastal bases to the Army at the front.

that the French had been doing all the fighting, and our Army is a complete revelation to them. The point which I made with the Staff and with Bacon, with whom I had long talks, was that from all I saw and heard, the Americans would not be able to do anything serious before next autumn, or anything big before 1919; that, in the interval, the French might become automatically so reduced as to be incapable of a great offensive ; and that, therefore, we and the Americans must then make the great effort together, and so must be in a posture to co-operate, and not too far distant from each other for such purpose. I found a strong approval of this point of view, and, generally speaking, a steady increase of the pro-English sentiment. But *surtout point de zèle* is a good maxim for our dealings with the Americans.

I had a good talk with Pershing about Joffre's ideas of an Inter-Allied Staff and about Pétain's views of a commission of studies. Pershing realises fully the German advantage in this matter, and there is this further difficulty, namely, that President Wilson is still attempting to keep up a show of independence of the Allies in his Army, and I believe—without being certain—that Pershing is not supposed to join inter-Allied military conferences, even for the preparation of next year's campaign ! But after we had talked all round the ideas of Joffre and Pétain, we came to the conclusion that nothing but omnipotence would serve in the Higher Command of the Allies, and that this could not be secured, since no Army was prepared to accept a subordinate position, and even if it did, its Government would not do so. So we must go on as we are, and trust to commonsense and the tact and experience of the Allied generals to keep things straight in the field.

General Pershing inspires me with complete confidence. His Staff told me that in his talk with me, prolonged until late in the night, he had been more drawn out, had covered more ground, and had spoken more, and more freely, than on any previous occasion. He is naturally reserved, but frank, clear-headed, wise, uncommonly determined, and with an obvious intention of not

allowing himself to be rushed into any folly by anybody. I am not sure whether he is always invited to the Conferences about the Western front, and am sure that it is a great fault if he is not.

One of his anxieties is about the General Staff at Washington and the advice which the President may receive from officers who have no experience of the real conditions here. General Biddle has gone from France to the U.S. to be assistant to General Bliss, the Chief of Staff at Washington, but Pershing thinks that this is not enough. I suggested that the President should choose his own men, send them out here to serve under Pershing in the General Staff branches for six months, and then let them return. Then the President could reconstitute his Staff with men who knew, as we had done in London. Pershing agreed that no one could visualise the war who had not seen it, and that even joy-riding was not enough. Men must be brought into harsh contact with practical realities. We discussed German plans and effectives; the transfer of German troops from East to West this winter—a matter in which Pershing adopts Maurice's moderate view—the question of French effectives and waste, and a dozen other subjects. I was to have had another talk with Pershing on the evening of the 10th on my return from the Gondrecourt camp, but the American Ambassador had called him to Paris. I think that Pershing's chief anxiety is also mine, namely, who is handling, as a whole, the mighty Staff problem before America. It appears to be done in compartments without assured communications, and both Pershing and his Staff thought this a weakness, and were anxious about it, and did not fully know how the machine at home worked.

I lunched with General Sibert at Gondrecourt on the 10th, and went round his troops, schools, billets, and huts. Sibert is a good man and has a good Staff, but he is without military experience. He tells me that the divisions will have 48 French 75's and 24 6-inch howitzers each. There are also 12-inch and 10-inch howitzers coming from America, but Sibert thought, with me, that his artillery problem was his

greatest, and viewed with some anxiety the moment when his divisional artillery commander might have to handle some 200 guns allotted to him for a grand attack. I suggested the loan of a Frenchman for the job, but Sibert did not jump at the idea. The look of the troops was good. A nice lot of keen, upstanding, young men, and all very serious and determined to do a big thing. The uniforms are much too tight. The explanation is that the men have filled out since joining, but I expect that it is a 'dandy' touch, and that the men have had their uniforms taken in to fit like gloves. The light canvas gaiters will not stand the mud, and I like the boots less than ours. I saw some good horses and interesting types of saddlery. The mounted officers whom I saw rode beautifully, but no cavalry are coming here yet, and the cavalry officers are joining other arms. The large effectives of the American coast artillery will help much with the heavies when they come along. There will be 16 machine guns per company, and the specialists, of whom there were none at first, are being formed. The organisation, even of the infantry battalion, is not yet completely settled. I saw some huts in a state of great disorder which would never be tolerated with us. All the beds were down and the kits just anyhow. The billets in barns, etc., were a little better, but there are no wash-houses yet organised, nor baths, nor arrangements for cleaning and refreshing uniforms. They still think that by ordering 1000 pairs of gum boots from America they meet the needs of 1000 men in the trenches, oblivious of the fact that 2000 are needed for every 1000 men in the trenches so that one lot of gum boots may be dried inside while the others are being used. Practical needs will only be learnt by practical experience, and the baths will begin when the men become lousy, as ours did. I did not care for the American pack.

I spent my last morning of the 11th going round the other headquarter offices at Chaumont. I am not sure that the Americans understand their own organisation, for Colonel Hines of the A.G.'s Branch told me that the A.G. was head of all the administrative services, but some

of them denied the fact stoutly when I went to see them, and called themselves separate departments. The health of the troops is very good, only one per cent. of sick. The medical arrangements ought to be good, as they have the pick of all the doctors and dentists of America, but the hospitals and other buildings are only coming on very slowly. I had a good talk with Bacon before leaving. He is politically opposed to President Wilson, and is concerned with the thought that one false note struck by the President may ruin the cause. But he admits that both in what he has said and done since he joined in the war, and in what he has not said and done, the President has been admirable. Bacon believes that he was sincerely pacificist, and did his utmost to keep out of it, but now that he is in it he is in it heart and soul and is a fighter. Bacon, however, believes that the President never contemplated all that it would mean, and may have hoped that a show of force would be enough. Pershing's original orders may have been coloured by these ideas. Bacon himself is the bitterest anti-German imaginable, is devoted to the cause, and should be a most valuable asset at the Headquarters, from all points of view. He says that the Americans in France are quickly learning how false were their views about the English, and what a revelation the strength, equipment, spirit, and discipline of our Armies have been to them. Every officer and man who visits our front or our schools comes back an enthusiast about us, and all begin to feel that had England and America been united, this war would never have been. The experiences of these three days require a good deal of reflection. I think that much time will be needed before the American Army will be fit for offensive war if the Germans maintain their spirit, but, given time, the enthusiasm, virility, and competence of all ranks, and the vast forces behind them, both moral and material, must overcome all difficulties, and if I return here in the spring I shall expect to see an immense improvement on all sides. Motored to Domrémy to see Joan of Arc's house and the Chapel. Sunset on

the river and the hills. America was not thought of in those far-off days. Motored back to Paris. Very dark in the woods in the last stages, but stars good for steering. Dined in my own rooms.

Friday, October 12. Wrote most of the day. Lunched with the Comtesse de S. at Henry's, and saw Boni de Castellane there. Had a good talk with Mrs. Leeds and Lady Minnie at tea, and dined with Mrs. Astor, Lady Essex, and Mr. Berry at the Ritz.

Saturday, Oct. 13. Left Paris, 9.10 A.M., for Amiens. Thence by car to the R.F.C. Headquarters, near St. Omer, for a talk with Trenchard. Two bombs outside his gates, intended for the aerodrome near by. The Huns are giving all our back-areas a good bombing just now, by day and night. St. Omer has been specially favoured. Trenchard well satisfied with the air changes in London announced to-day by wireless, Salmond taking David Henderson's place. Trenchard hopes to be fully ready by April next. He had a very hard time in April last, and again six weeks ago, but is rather happier now in spite of the Hun concentration against us. Yesterday we had a bad day, losing ten machines. The weather was awful; the troops could not get further than their first objectives, and 'the birds' had a bad time of it too. It was not the Boches but the weather and the horrible ground that stopped us. T. is satisfied that our various types are as good as the Boche types, everything considered. But until he gets his long-range bombing squadrons he is not going to alter his offensive battlefield tactics, and, moreover, he says that bombing the German towns will not stop the Huns from bombing London. He trusts to the hard resolute offensive against the Germans and their aerodromes in our Belgian front, and will not alter his tactics until the present operations are suspended. He thinks that bombing will go on with increasing severity till the end of the war, and that London will not be spared. But if we win in Flanders we shall put the Hun back a long way and make it more difficult for him. I believe that Trenchard is right and

should be supported. His views are those of our G.S. at home.

Motored to Radinghem Château, maintained for American and other visitors. Major Norie in charge; also there Lionel St. Aubyn, 60th; Hannay, Coldstreams; and another, as conducting officers. General Sir William Manning, Governor of Jamaica, also of the party. He has come over to look after his West India troops, who are doing finely in bringing up the shells to the heavy guns, but are going down fast in this cold wet weather, which they cannot stand. M. says that Jamaica is very patriotic, and that his blacks are fatalists and good fighters. A lot of Chinese about. They do well on the roads. Many are at Dunkirk, where the Hun bombers have done a lot of harm. The Chinese shin up the trees when the bombs come, to be out of the way. Jack St. Aubyn is our commandant there. I am told that the British officers with the Chinese gradually come to resemble the Chinamen and assume their inscrutable demeanour! Boche prisoners working all along the road. They looked well; quite a fine lot of men.

Sunday, Oct. 14. Motored to Advanced G.H.Q. to have lunch and a talk with Charteris, the head of Haig's Intelligence. I find that he is strongly set upon continuing the Flanders offensive next year, and is most optimistic as usual. He has great ideas of the hurt that we have caused the Huns, and the number of divisions which we have 'exhausted' as he terms it. I doubt whether they are much more exhausted than those which we take out of our own line after an attack. He believes that we can gain our present objectives, and next spring clear up to Ghent, and then be on the flank of the German line. So we should be, but on the wrong flank strategically. I was given papers to show all the Hun divisions drawn from the French front to oppose us, and assuming these to be correct, it would appear that we have been fighting most of the Western Germans, and the best of them, this year. I told C. the figures that Pétain and his officers had given to me. Neither C. nor Major Cornwall disputed

them seriously, but I suggested that C. would do well to be in a position to present his own analysis of the figures.

Motored on to Cassel and found Plumer. We had a high tea with him and his personal Staff and Harington. Plumer very happy about his successes. His day of the 12th could not be put through because the ground was impossible owing to the weather. So he is going to hold the thing up for ten days until he can complete his communications again. At present some of his light railways are bodily embedded in the mud up to the top of the little locomotives; the whole railway has subsided into the morass, and until he can get his ammunition up he cannot get on. It is a race against time, as the season grows so late. He wants to take Passchendaele, and Gough Westroosebeck, while there are a couple of other points east and south-east of the ridge which the Huns must be turned out of to make a clean job of it. I found Plumer heart and soul for the Flanders offensive. I asked him whether he was thinking of his present tactical objectives, or whether he had in his mind the strategy of next year and its possibilities. He said that he had both, and had fully considered the future possibilities. But I think that he nears the end of his tether for this year, as he admits that he has nearly come to the end of the troops available for his operation, and that he must soon think of resting them and beginning the winter training. The Huns have 700 guns against him, and 1300 on the whole front which we and the French, under Anthoine, are attacking. The Huns still fight well, and Plumer is rather sarcastic about Charteris's optimism. I fear that Godley lost 40 per cent. of his troops which were engaged on the 12th. They were brigades of his Anzac Corps, and machine guns did the damage. Our losses in these operations [1] have been very heavy. We are only on the edge of the real Low Country positions, but our people now begin to understand

[1] Our casualties in killed, wounded, and missing from July 31, after Messines, to December 31, 1917, were 400,000 all ranks in the Flanders operations alone.

what they are. We discussed the question of cancelling attacks owing to bad weather when the troops are in position, and I find that it is difficult unless done between five and seven overnight. Plumer has a man who is called 'Meteor,' who watches the weather for him and is rather good. Not much chance of a talk with Harington, but he told me that they meant to have Passchendaele. Plumer wants captains of 25, brigadiers of 30, divisional commanders of 45 to 50, and men of experience for Corps and Armies.

On the way in the morning I looked in for a chat with Horne, commanding the 1st Army. He is still in the same château as in April, namely Ranchicourt, and his Staff is unchanged, but he gets part-worn divisions from the fight and has to give up his best. The Canadians are just leaving for the north, to his vexation and to theirs, as they had set their heart on Lens and had settled themselves down comfortably for the winter. We saw an excellent raised model of Lens and the positions round it. Horne thinks that there are very few Germans in Lens,—indeed he thought only a few companies—but it is useless to occupy the town until the Huns are driven from the low hills to the S.E. of Lens—this will be Horne's next operation when he can get the guns, and possibly in the winter. The French are said to be getting coal from the Lens mine 1600 feet down! Slept at Radinghem again in the ghost room.

Monday, Oct. 15. Motored to G.H.Q. at Blendecques, near St. Omer. I saw Sassoon first. He was in a quaint little hut in the garden, small and chilly, but an electric radiator was installed. I asked what had been the result of the visit of Painlevé and Foch to London. Sassoon said that nobody at G.H.Q. knew, but that after the last Boulogne Conference on September 25, where Painlevé told me the principle of the extension of the British Front had been accepted, L. G. and Robertson had come to G.H.Q. and Haig had told them fully his objections to our taking over any more of the French line; but neither L. G. nor R. had said anything to show Haig that the principle of taking over

more of the French front had been adopted, and Sassoon deplored what seemed a want of frankness. Then later, said Sassoon, there came a letter from the War Office, stating the fact that the principle had been accepted, but giving no other explanations, and none had been given since. Derby had asked Haig to come over, but Haig could not go during the battle, and had offered to come next Wednesday, but Derby had then replied that they would not press him to come as they knew his views. I said that possibly, at the time of L. G.'s visit, silence was imposed until the Cabinet had made a decision. I suggested that there must be some misunderstanding since, to my personal knowledge, Robertson had invariably supported Haig heart and soul.

I then went in to Haig and we discussed the resulting situation. I told Haig of Pétain's difficulties and Painlevé's desires. I found Haig as firmly set upon the Flanders offensive as possible. He does not believe that the French can or will attack, and so does not see why he should change his plan to please the French. He cannot take over the front named by Pétain without so weakening himself that he will be unable to attack. If he goes south to co-operate with Pétain, the Huns will give way as they have done before and leave us stranded. Whereas, Haig thinks, in Flanders the Huns cannot go back without letting go their hold on the Belgian coast, and therefore here they must fight. Haig will, therefore, not compromise, and does not know what the decision at Boulogne means, nor what it will entail, nor why he was not called in. He has been told nothing by Robertson. Haig likes Pétain very much, but thinks that the politicians dominate the soldiers in France.

We had lunch and *banalités*: the F.M., Kiggell, Byng, Butler, Fletcher, Sassoon, and the A.D.C.; and then I adjourned, at Haig's suggestion, with Kiggell and Butler for another talk. I explained the situation as it appeared to Pétain and to Pershing. Kiggell then went fully into the strategy. He was convinced that the Huns must stand in Flanders and could not retreat elastically on the Hindenburg plan in this district. We should, therefore, be sure to find

him, and, having gained the tactical mastery of him, should beat him. We could not afford to take over one yard of front from the French, because we were thin enough now, and there was the winter training ahead and all the *roulement* to be arranged. He was, therefore, firmly convinced that to abandon our plan would be fatal. He made the good point that the operation in the North was best for our limited forces. If we had larger Armies, Kiggell would vote for the Pétain plan, which much resembled other French plans, but our forces were limited, and we had proved our power to beat the Huns and to go on beating them. We should take the rest of the ridge and then continue next April, threatening the Hun coast defences on our left and Lille on our right, and extending our hold gradually until we reached the Dutch frontier, which was only 18 miles from Roulers. We should then clear the two ports (Zeebrugge and Ostend), establish railway communication with them, destroy the Hun aerodromes, and menace the right of the whole German line. The loss of the Belgian coastline would be a heavy blow to Germany, and no excuses could palliate it. He was prepared to stake his reputation that the Germans could not retreat without fighting foot by foot on the Flanders front, and that next year in from one to two months the operation would be concluded. Every attack which we made next year would draw more Hun divisions towards us and make the French task easier, so we must be ready to go on with blow upon blow as we were doing now, and for this strategy an assured supply of 500,000 drafts would be needed. These should begin to arrive directly the present operation ended, so that they might finish their training, and he said that there was a close co-relation between training and casualties. If the Government took a political decision which interfered with the prosecution of this plan, then the matter passed out of his hands. He was only talking strategy, and these were his views.

I said that the only comment I had to make was that a Flanders offensive could not be begun before April, which date also coincided with that at which Trenchard would be

ready, and that if the Germans came from the Eastern front and attacked the French in February or March, they might secure the initiative, which might prove awkward. But in other respects I did not question the plan, which seemed to me solid and well weighed. All that I added was that I appreciated more than ever in what a difficult position Pétain would be placed, and what a mean rôle was assigned in the plan to a proud nation like the French. Was no easement of the French position possible ? What would happen if the French began to dissolve from our failure to help them out, and how would it be if the Huns came West in force and broke the French line before our Flanders attack could recommence ?

Kiggell thought that the Flanders attack might begin at a pinch in March, that the French were strong enough to defend themselves, and that our attack was their best defence. He did not believe in a French attack in force. He was implacable about taking over more line, and after discussing the matter for some time, we saw no course to meet all needs except for the Americans to take over the front of the 3rd French Army or more if they could. But I do not think that Pershing can do this before the spring, and I doubt whether he will like to do it then.

Butler also pointed out that we had already taken over the front of the 10th French Army and of the Nieuport Group. Kiggell thinks that the Huns are weakening and may give way at any moment, and that his plan will beat the Germans and end the war. I did not see that the latter result would necessarily follow, and I said so. I also said that Pétain had a correct perception of the difficulties which he would encounter when he came to talk with the F.M., that neither the French politicians nor soldiers would be satisfied, and that the resulting situation might be serious. We all agreed that the right course was for Haig and Pétain to meet and to agree, if they could, upon the plan for 1918, and that everything else would depend upon the result and would naturally follow from it. I suggested that Pershing should be invited to this

and other conferences, and thought that this would be to our advantage, though I could not say whether the President would allow Pershing to attend. Kiggell thought that it would be difficult for Haig to take the initiative in this matter as the Americans were under the French wing. It would be best that Pershing himself should suggest that he should attend.

I spoke highly of Wagstaff's work to Haig and others, and suggested a Q man to help him. We talked of the Americans, and Butler shared my views about them. Byng told us to-day of his Monday raid on a front of 1200 yards with three old English county regiments, and how well it all went. A group of American generals witnessed the attack from a point 600 yards to the flank, and were ecstatic in their delight at the success of the raiders, who remained for half an hour in the Hun support trenches, killed 200 Huns, and brought back 64 prisoners. The raiders had gone in light with bayonets on their rifles, 50 rounds, and one bomb each. The barrage and gas worked to perfection. Byng's story of the British raider's desire to shove his bayonet through the stomach of the '— bastard who pulls the string of the minen—' is not for the drawing-room. I told the F.M. and G.H.Q. of the extraordinarily valuable political and military effects of the manner in which they had aided the Americans to study the war in the North, and our training and organisation.

Tuesday, Oct. 16. Motored to Wimereux and saw Tom Bridges at No. 16 General Hospital. His right leg is off just below the knee, but he is going on well, and is very brave about it. His wife is with him, and he hopes to be home in a few days. Motored to Boulogne. An interminable line of ambulances conveying lying-down wounded cases to the hospital ship. A rough crossing. Home by 7 P.M.

CHAPTER XXVII

WAR BY COMMITTEE

Explanation of our G.H.Q.'s doubts—A Zepp. raid near Maryon—General Gourkho on Russia—General Pétain's victory at Malmaison—Colonel Fagalde on General Cadorna's reasons for stopping his attack—The Austro-German attack on Italy—British support sent—Letters from Sir Charles Monro, Sir Edmund Allenby, Sir Stanley Maude, and General Briggs—Description of events in India, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Salonika—Inspired Press attacks on the General Staff—Italian losses—General Allenby's victory at Gaza and Beersheba—Difficulties with the *Times*—The Supreme Political Council and permanent central military Committee created in Paris—General Robertson's opinion—War by Committee bound to fail—Mr. Lloyd George's Paris speech—He reads out the new Agreement in the House of Commons—Our deficit in strengths and total losses during the war.

Thursday, Oct. 18. Took steps to learn the truth about G.H.Q.'s doubts. The Boulogne Conference had only agreed *to consider* the question of the extension of the British front and we had not committed ourselves. We had gone no further than this during Painlevé's and Foch's visit to London a fortnight ago, though they had asked us to take up to Berry-au-Bac. A letter was going to-day to G.H.Q. to clear the matter up. I hope that this may be done, but Painlevé certainly believed when he spoke to me that we had agreed to take over more line, and not only to consider the matter. Some folk think that G.H.Q. are much too stiff and narrow about the French, and that we can afford to extend as far as the Oise.

Friday, Oct. 19. Lord Haldane dined at Maryon, and I walked back with him to the Tube station. As I returned I heard two explosions, and as I turned in at Maryon I heard a so-called aerial torpedo going through the air like a small railway train. It appeared to be travel-

ling from North to South. It fell near Cricklewood and killed a lot of people. There was no noise of any motors. We afterwards heard that it was a Zepp. raid, but only one of the Zepps. reached London, drifting with the wind, and let go three or four bombs. Our guns were all silent.

Saturday, Oct. 20. About 100 people killed and wounded by the bombs yesterday. One fell in Piccadilly near the pavement in front of Swan and Edgar's. Egerton and I went to see the damage. All the glass smashed in the adjoining houses and the gas and water mains broken where the bomb fell. 'Meat' Lowther, who was crossing the circus at the moment, had a narrow escape. The bomb weighed 220 pounds. It penetrated some four or five feet into the roadway.

Sunday, Oct. 21. Had tea with Margey and Freddy to tell them about Joan. F. says that there are now 20,000 special constabulary in London and 15,000 regular constables. The fire brigades of places round London are now under London so as to secure better co-operation.

Monday, Oct. 22. Had a talk with Sir Thomas Robinson, Agent-General for Queensland, about meat supplies. He thinks that Lord Rhondda is making a mess of things, and gave me a lot of detail and not much proof. Lunched with Sir Alan and Lady Johnstone, Lady Essex, and Prince Croy. The latter told us how he escaped from Belgium.

Tuesday, Oct. 23. Saw Geoffrey Dawson at the Travellers' Club in the morning. He leaves for G.H.Q. to-day. We posted each other up in events at home and abroad. He wants me to make Robertson a little more amenable on the War Council, and Milner is to make L. G. less rude to Robertson. I lunched with Generals Dessino and Gourkho at 'The Senior.' Gourkho is a small man with a strong eager face. He told me how he had been treated in Russia and finally exiled, the excuse being that he had written to the Tsar and was a danger to the new Republic. He says that there is no liberty of domicile or of the person in Russia. He does not think that the Germans can do much more in the

Gulf of Riga this autumn, and that the attacks are for moral effect. He says that there are heaps of Russian troops still at the front. The Germans have to hold 1800 kilometres with 91 divisions, so it means a front of 20 kilometres, on an average, per division, and Gourkho thinks that they cannot take much away. The Russian Corps are now of three divisions, each Army Corps 36 battalions. In all, they have mobilised 14,000,000 men, but many prisoners have been lost, and the Russians need more men on the L. of C. and in charge of wagons and horses than we do. There are ample troops to hold the Germans, and to beat them, if only the Russians will fight, but Gourkho admits that the Russians are merely passive and have lost their offensive spirit, so their numbers really mean nothing at all.

I saw Sir T. Robinson and Mr. I. Young again about meat supplies, but could not trace any crimes to Rhondda. Looked in at Mrs. Keppel's and found her looking very well after her cure at Aix.

Went on to York House to talk to Robertson, and told him my experiences abroad. The report of Pétain's victory on the Aisne to-day just in and pleased us much. R. had not much news. The soldiers and the War Cabinet seem to get on very fairly. He growled about Smuts saying that the war was won. R. thought it was not won, and that it had to be won here in England. We were 70,000 down in France. I saw Godley to-day. His 2nd Anzac Corps lost about 15,000 men in the fighting of the 4th, 9th, and 12th October.

Thursday, Oct. 25. Colonel Fagalde lunched with me and we discussed affairs. He told me that Cadorna's decision not to attack again early in October, as he had formally promised, was suddenly arrived at after the arrival at his H.Q. of Signor Bissolati. On Sept. 19 one of the French Mission had reached Paris and reported that all the attack was well mounted and *en train*, and then on the 20th came the telegram to say that it was abandoned. Cadorna had

given five reasons: that they had lost too many men, though in fact their losses were only 145,000; that their depots were empty, though this was not correct; that public opinion did not permit a check to be risked; that they had to store up shells for a spring offensive; and, finally, that the Austrians were going to attack. Foch, and Robertson at Foch's instigation, had sent severe letters to Cadorna, who was now faced by the Austro-German attack announced this morning and considered by Fagalde retributive justice. From a Boche airman brought down, it was found that a 14th German Army consisting of five to nine divisions had been formed, and F. says that it is attacking round the angle of the Carnic and Julian fronts, that Cividale is the converging point, and that the 2nd Italian Army is concentrating there. We have left some fifty of our heavy guns, it appears. The Germans are of good regular divisions, and there may be more than we know.

We discussed my visit to France, and talked over all the question of the extension of the British front. Fagalde asks whether anything is behind to-day's leader about the Ypres fight in 1914, and the omission of all mention of Foch and his Army. They cannot conceive in Paris that I am not responsible for all the *Times* leaders on military affairs. Fagalde wants me to get L. G. to support Painlevé's candidature for the French War Office. F. thinks that Barthou may become French P.M., and Thomas Foreign Secretary. He also wants Robertson to indoctrinate our statesmen about war, as Foch found when staying a week-end with Balfour and others at Chequers Court that there were many fundamental questions which they did not understand, and that they appreciated Foch's explanations.

Saturday, Oct. 27. The Dutch Minister, Dr. van Swinderen, had telephoned that he wished to see me, and brought up to Maryon Hall his new military attaché, a gunner and a typical Dutchman. We had a short talk on politics and the war, and then branched into the Laszlo case. Van

Swinderen admitted that Laszlo had sent two letters, and he vowed only two, through the Dutch bag to the sister of Loudon, the Dutch Foreign Minister, with whose family L. was on friendly terms, and that no letter from L. to any enemy person, country, or address had gone through the bag. He said that our people here had read some of Laszlo's letters sent abroad by the ordinary post, and had found evidence that he had written other letters which they had not seen. They taxed Laszlo with it, and he admitted that he had used the Dutch bag, an admission which Van Swinderen was evidently very angry about. S. thought L. a child and an *illuminé*, with the artistic temperament highly developed, and very intemperate in his language, but he did not believe him to be a traitor though he hated Russia. I said that the whole of the proceedings in the Laszlo case were un-English, and that L.'s many friends were in a fix as they did not know the precise charge against him. L. was not allowed to be present when L.'s friends gave evidence to character for him, and the whole thing resembled the *lettre de cachet* more than English methods. If L. were proved guilty, his friends would have nothing more to say for him, but, till he was, they stood by him, and I thought this attitude unexceptionable.

I lunched with the Ian Hamiltons; pleasant as always, and a nice talk. Colonel Mola there, and we discussed the new and startling German attack on Italy, known apparently to our correspondents in Italy on Oct. 21, and first reported in the British Press on Oct. 25. Went off with Mola, who was very anxious to have assurance of British support. He says that though he is supposed to be a *persona grata* here, all the liaison work is done by Cadorna and Robertson through Delmé Radcliffe, and Mola hears very little. We agreed that I should go to Robertson and he to the D.M.O., and see what could be done. We talked the case over. I then saw Robertson, who told me that we were sending two divisions by the Riviera route, and the French four divisions by the Mont

Cenis. He also showed me a wire sent to X., giving the latter a rowing for variations in his reports. He asked me to see Macdonogh about the figures, and the latter told me afterwards that there were only six divisions of Germans and 44 Austrians all round the frontiers of Italy, and that the unofficial and Press reports from Italy had grossly exaggerated the figures. However, it is bad enough, as the Italians have given way before weak forces which should easily have been held up. Mola had been keen that only English troops should go and not French. I agreed that it should be one or the other, and said that I hated military salads, and did not want to see Salonika conditions repeated in Italy. Later learnt that the arrangements for the move to Italy are under way. I informed Mola, who was most grateful.

Sunday, Oct. 28. The following letters which I have recently received from Monro, C.-in-C. in India; from Allenby, commanding in Egypt; from Maude, commanding in Mesopotamia; and from Briggs, commanding the 16th Army Corps at Salonika, give a general view of our position just now elsewhere than on the Western front. The dates show how long the letters from distant theatres now take in coming.

Letter from Sir Charles Monro,
Received Hampstead, *Sep.* 24, 1917:

SIMLA, *August* 15, 1917.

MY DEAR REPINGTON,—Thank you very much for your most interesting letter. Some great events have happened in the past six months. What a pity that Russia could not have been induced to stay her reforming hand until after the war: her reasons for taking such a wild move at such a period are not known to me, but to an outsider it does seem that she was in honour bound to defer all antics until peace had been re-

established, as after all she was in a measure instrumental in starting this business.

People seem at present in somewhat low spirits at the prolongation of the war, but that cannot be helped—we must see it through somehow or other.

We have, as you may have heard, just concluded a frontier affair. The Mahsuds had been giving us trouble since last February, and we were compelled to deal with them in order to prevent a serious outbreak from spreading. In order to understand the situation in which we were placed, it is necessary to remind you that our system of holding the country in Waziristan is by a series of frontier posts held by Militia levies of varying strengths, supported by occasional posts manned by Regulars. The two most important are Wana and Sarwekai.

In February the tribesmen came forward to attack the latter post. The officer commanding in charge acted like a resolute soldier—he went out to ambush the Mahsuds, but unfortunately got caught in a trap himself. I have nothing to say of this officer except to admire his courage ; he lost his life in the enterprise, and the tribesmen, elated by their success, were encouraged to greater truculence. But that was bad luck; a frontier soldier cannot play for safety. We should never govern wild tribesmen by halting timid councils. As a result the tribesmen tried to prevent us from supplying Wana and Sarwekai, our route being through the Gomal, a very difficult communication following the bed of a river much subjected to flood, and through a defile exposed to intense heat and lack of water.

We could not give up the posts mentioned for obvious reasons, and as the tribesmen persisted in their methods, only one course was open to us. So we went in from Jandola through the Shahur Tangi, via Barwand, to the Khaisora Valley, one of the most fertile parts of Mahsud territory. We burnt and destroyed all crops and habitations as we proceeded, and, in addition, we bombed their chief towns, such as Kanigoram, Makin, Marobi, etc. This has had the result of bringing them to their knees, and making them sue for terms.

The expedition was under the command of Major-General Beynon, who showed himself a capable and cautious leader. The General Officer Commanding Northern Army, Sir A. Barrett, exercised general control subject to Army Headquarters direction

where necessary. It was unfortunate that we had to conduct an expedition in the middle of the hot weather, but it was unavoidable. As a result in India the Staff have gained great and most profitable experience. The communications were difficult. Only one means of crossing the Indus obtained, viz. from Mari to Kalabagh, and from thence merely a 2 ft. 6 inch railway projected to Tank, so that all the Officers on the Lines of Communications, Railway Transport Officers, Station and Base Commandants, etc., learnt much, and have profited to a large degree by their experience.

. . . . . .

Work continues to progress with unceasing vigour in India. We have now two Commands, commanded by Lieut.-General Sir A. Barrett and Lieut.-General Sir C. Anderson. They have a very considerable Staff, and are doing very good work in their respective spheres. Two Inspectors of Infantry, one Inspector of Artillery, of Cavalry, of Royal Engineers, Pioneer Services, and of the Indian Defence Forces have been procured, and they help us to keep in touch with the outside world.

The British Section of the Indian Defence Force is now a working machine. The force consists of 42,000 men, of which 16,000 are for general service and 26,000 for local service. The former can be called on to serve anywhere in India. They serve compulsorily, and as time goes on should prove a valuable adjunct for local employment in India.

We gave Indians an opportunity for volunteering for service under much the same conditions. The number to be embodied at one time was restricted to 6000 men owing to shortage of officers, instructors, etc., but they have not responded to any useful degree. No limitation was put on numbers wishing to register. Recruiting is doing well. We took 20,800 fighting men for the month of July, a very good figure bearing in mind that our normal monthly enlistment before the war averaged about 1200, and I am hopeful that in subsequent months this figure will be considerably increased. We found at Headquarters some months ago that the Recruiting problem had grown beyond the power of the Adjutant-General to control; we therefore, through the Government of India, formed a Central

Recruiting Board. This Board can correspond with more authority with local governments, and can direct them as to the course they should pursue to stimulate recruiting. The result is that all Local Governments have also their Boards, and soldiers and civilians are working together strenuously to expand our recruiting prospects. We must still stick to voluntary effort in India—to attempt compulsion would be very unwise in my judgment, so we must make the best of voluntary effort, and if by combination we can work up to 30,000 recruits per month, this figure should prove a great Imperial asset. I cannot say for certain that we shall, but we will try. To deal with this number of men we shall want more officers with knowledge of the language and customs of the men they will command, and that is a big question. We are struggling here with the Officer question, and are comparatively well off so far as young officers are concerned; it is in experienced officers we are short.

We have two schools for cadets, and two for older officers, seeking commissions through the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, or by other means. We have now taken just over 3000 through the agency of the Indian Army Reserve of Officers alone, so we are moving along; and we have another source yet which has not so far materialised.

We are now engaged in forming 24 additional battalions and accessory units, and we have got permission from home, when they are completed, to start 21 more. We shall proceed with these latter as we work the former off. It means our having a large bulk of men at the depots, as we have increased the establishment of all battalions serving outside India from 750 to 1000, a very large increase to meet; and we try to have a 30 per cent. reserve on the spot to supply wastage in Mesopotamia and East Africa.

Mesopotamia is, of course, an absorbing subject to India. We have already sent there 272 barges, 63 tugs, 273 craft of different kinds, and their number still increases. Besides, we provide all the material for railways, timber, etc., *ad lib.*, which is demanded. The skilled personnel required for railways, electric lights, ice machines, inland water transport, gardening, is a heavy tax on India.

We have already sent considerably over 100,000 labourers

there, and it would astonish you to see the applications which reach us weekly for riveters, boiler-makers, engine-drivers, station-masters, pointsmen, signalmen, etc., *ad inf.* We have started schools to educate the number of tradesmen asked for, but it will be a difficult matter to meet the demands we get in the future. As to the provision of rails, we have managed to procure silica bricks for a firm in India, and are consequently turning out rails in increasing proportion. All the rails we make, amounting to about 3000 tons per month, we are sending to Egypt for the present. For Mesopotamia we pull up existing lines. All this work is done under the auspices of Sir Thomas Holland, a most remarkable man, who is President of the Munitions Board.

In many branches of industry very great progress is being made, particularly in tannery and textiles, which should be a great help to England. The chemical side also promises very well, and if only we had adequate machinery in India a very great deal could be done. We are much hampered now by the want of it.

The force in Mesopotamia continues to expand, and as it does so the development of the Port of Basra becomes an urgent need. We hope now to be able to handle about 100,000 tons a month, but this will not long suffice, and we shall have to work up to 130,000 tons. This means additional wharfage accommodation, barges, and increased labour.

So far as the North-West Frontier is concerned, the Amir of Afghanistan has played a very loyal part. The Mahsuds have sued for peace, the Mohmands have accepted our terms after a blockade of about one year, and the Hindustani fanatics are proving docile. This represents the present situation, but, as you know, it would be a rash man who would venture to predict as to the future in that most uncertain area.

I am afraid you will find this a very uninteresting letter. It has been written in a great hurry, as I am just off on a tour of inspection for about a fortnight, and have a certain amount to do finishing off odds and ends before finally starting.—Yours sincerely,

C. C. Monro.

P.S.—Regarding the river craft we have sent to Mesopotamia,

the following will show you more clearly what has been done:—

48 paddle steamers.	272 barges.
63 tugs.	135 motor launches.

The balance comprises a variety of craft.

Letter from General Allenby:

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
25th September 1917.

MY DEAR REPINGTON,—Thank you for your letter of the 8th inst. I am very grateful to you for your kind words of sympathy about my boy. He was just 19½ years old, and had been fighting for 17 months. He was in the whole of the Somme battle, the Ancre, Arras, Messines, and had already been recommended for promotion to Captain when he was killed by a chance shell near Nieuport.

My preparations are getting on. When I arrived in Egypt, I visited the Palestine front. Then I sent home my appreciation of the situation, and asked for what I thought was necessary. I wanted to begin an active campaign this month; but I pointed out that I deprecated any serious operations until I had been made up to the strength I considered necessary, and that minor operations would do no good. I have not yet got all I asked for; and I shall not attempt anything on a big scale until I have got what has been promised me—which is practically what I have demanded.

If required to start prematurely to relieve pressure, for instance, on Maude, I am ready to undertake a minor operation; but I trust that such action will not be necessary. My 60th Division from Salonika is in good order. The 10th, from there, is now arriving; and it suffers from some malaria. The doctors shake their heads, but the G.O.C. the Division, Longley, assures me that they will soon get rid of it. Falkenhayn, I think, has

his eyes on Bagdad. If he comes my way he will have great difficulty in supplying his Army; and with his present strength has not a chance against me. I am in daily touch with Maude, and my Intelligence is good; also I have great hope of good co-operation by the Arabs N. of Akaba, and against the Hedjaz railway.

I have made a lot of changes since I came out here, and have now a good Staff and some capable commanders. Bols, who was with me in the 3rd Army, is coming out to take the place of Lynden Bell, who has just gone home. His eyes bothered him, and he could not carry on efficiently. I found it necessary to shift G.H.Q. from Cairo to the Palestine front. I keep some Administrative Staff there still, but the C.G.S., D.A.G., D.Q.M.G., and all heads are here. We have a camp of huts and tents, widely distributed to dodge bombs, on a ridge 300 feet above the sea, and some three miles from it. I can reach any part of my front line inside of two hours by motor car. A Ford car on a wire-netting road is a wonderful means of travel. You know, I suppose, exactly how my Army is now organised. Two of the B.G.G.S.s only arrived last month, but they are first-rate men—Bartholomew and Howard Vyse—and are pulling their full weight already. Djemal (the Great), who commanded all the Turkish Armies, has, I believe, been definitely *dégommé*. I don't know his successor. Djemal did not get on with the Boches. Now Falkenhayn will have a freer hand, as will also Kress von Kressenstein, my immediate opponent. K. v. K. is a capable, resourceful, and determined character, and gets on well, I am told, with the Turks. I enclose an appreciation of him by a Syrian Jew, who knows him well. His Turks are digging hard, and have made Gaza into a strong place; but their front is thirty-five miles long, and I don't think they can count upon more than 30,000 rifles. They are great diggers, however, and are making strong places skilfully under German instruction. We get about twenty deserters a week, and expect to get more. Till lately these were poorly fed; recently, however, food has become more plentiful, and can be readily distributed, owing, I believe, to the arrival of 200 motor lorries. Generally speaking, their moral is not good. They have a lot of machine guns and plenty of S.A.A., and a fair number of guns and howitzers up to 5·9″.

My Army is in good spirits, and is confident of success ; but as I have already said, I am not going to start before I am ready. Egypt is quiet, but an ill success would be very bad for our prestige. A big success on my part would stifle sedition, and would bring every one down on our side of the fence. We are, and shall always be, the Unbelievers, and the sympathy of the True Believer will always be with those of his own creed. The Arabs will join us in the fight for their independence ; but only for that reason and not because they love us. They believe in our word ; and that makes it so important that in any negotiation with the Turks we must insist on Arab independence—to secure which we have prevailed on them to fight for us, and which we have promised to guarantee for them.

I am very much interested in all you tell me about affairs in Europe. I agree with you that it appears as if our Navy could help more on the Belgian coast. We have, I suppose, four times the number of battleships that the Central Powers can put together ; and they will be no use to us after the war, so we may as well use them now. Dalmeny sends his remembrances to you. He has been worth more than his weight in gold to me here ; in fact, I don't think I could have done what there was to do without him.

We have got over the summer weather, practically ; and now the climate is perfect. No rain so far, but we may expect some shortly, though not much. The summer has been cooler than usual, but I don't think that the heat in this part of the world should ever stop active campaigning. Water is the determining factor in fighting here. You fight for water, then develop the supply ; then based on that, fight for water again. We drag a pipe line from Egypt for our main supply ; but that is not mobile, though it follows on bravely behind us.—Yours sincerely,

EDMUND W. ALLENBY.

Letter from Sir Stanley Maude :

MESOPOTAMIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
28*th August* 1917.

MY DEAR REPINGTON,—Many thanks for most interesting

letter, dated June 27. You will see by the above date how long it takes for a letter to reach us here.

I envy you your trip to France for there must be much to see and hear there.

I was particularly glad to hear what you had got to say about the other fronts, for here we are so out in the wilds that one is rather apt to become centred in one's immediate surroundings as if they were the whole thing instead of being merely on the fringe of this vast whole world war.

It was splendid to hear the excellent account you give of our people in France, and though since then they seem to have had some little trouble on the Yser, and even more recently round Ypres, the latest news of the Canadian advance is magnificent. The French too, in spite of the shortage of men to which you refer, seem to be doing big things round Verdun, whilst the Italian offensive—in spite of the contradictions of the German wireless—appears to be taking heavy toll of the Austrians. So, on the Western front things look, on the whole, quite rosy.

On the Eastern front the Russian débâcle seems to have been temporarily stayed, and though in places they are still losing ground, in others both they and the Rumanians are advancing, which is all to the good.

Now we hear reports that the Japanese are sending troops to assist the Russians, and if this is true, such a stiffening may well make them turn and face the enemy once more. In fact, the moral effect of their appearance on the Eastern front, coupled with the American entry on the Western front, must be considerable on exhausted nations such as the Germans and Austrians must now be.

Here we have been inactive practically since May 1st, for by the end of April we had won all the objectives which we set out to attain, and after capturing Samarrah on April 23rd, following on the severe defeats of the 18th Turkish Army Corps on the 21st and 22nd, we finally drove the 13th Corps for the third time back into the Jebel Hamrin on April 30th, and gave them a parting kick in the shape of a raid by aeroplanes which dropped half a ton of bombs on them.

But when I say that we have been inactive, that is perhaps

scarcely correct. True, we have been inactive as regards operations, but as regards reorganisation and preparation for the future, things have been more strenuous than ever, and occasionally it has been difficult to keep things going at high pressure. Still, we have got along first-rate, and we are almost fully prepared now to take on the enemy once more.

I was glad to be able to get the troops into their summer quarters before the intense heat began, and by means of giving them plenty of room and placing as many of them as possible on the river banks, we have got through the summer most successfully. The troops have had a good rest, which they had fully earned after all their hard work. They have been well, and now that the early mornings and the late evenings, as well as the nights, are beginning to get cooler, we are getting along well with their more advanced training, which is so necessary before they take the field again. Not that we have meantime neglected the preparation of defensive positions. I first went round all these on the three fronts, namely, Dialah, Tigris, and Euphrates, in May, just to see that they had been rightly planned, and to talk over matters on the ground. More recently I have visited them, and seen the solid work which has been put into them during the past three months ; and though more work is still required on the Dialah and the Euphrates, our advanced positions on the Tigris should enable us to give the Turks a warm reception, and even our more retired positions are well in hand. I want to get these pivots as strong as possible, so that we may be able to hold them comparatively lightly in men, but strongly with machine guns and other defensive appliances, so as to liberate the bulk of our forces for mobile action. I am afraid that the Turks have the legs of us when it comes to marching, but I have rubbed this as thoroughly as I can into all subordinate commanders, and I hope that we are improving in this respect. Extreme mobility is what will pay in the forthcoming operations. If the enemy tries to sit down and entrench close to us I hope to attack him and knock him out before he can dig himself in ; and, similarly, if he tries to march round us we must go for him at once. I only hope that he will be bold enough to attack our positions, for I cannot help feeling that if he does he will suffer very severely. One of the points to which I paid particular attention throughout the summer has been the preparation of means of crossing the

rivers rapidly, for with three river lines on our front ample facilities for this are essential. So we have formed two mobile bridging trains, each capable of spanning a river 500 yards wide, instead of one with a capacity of 400 yards, which we had last year. I have two other bridging trains, not mobile, each also capable of spanning a river 500 yards wide. Then, in addition to this, we have constructed seven permanent bridges over the Dialah, and hope to make two or three more during the next few weeks, whilst on the Euphrates we have got the use of three permanent bridges already, and are adding to these. I have also now turned my attention to the Shatt el Ahdaim, and we have devised a scheme by which each Corps will carry a certain amount of bridging material for spanning small canals.

I have visited the Cavalry division and three of the five other divisions recently, and the troops are in rousing spirits and full of fight. We had a baddish time for a fortnight in the middle of July when the heat-wave beat all records for Bagdad as regards temperature, and even the strongest succumbed in many cases. More recently, too, we have had a less severe heat-wave, but I hope that these are now over, and that the weather will become appreciably cooler before long. Compared to last year our sick list has been very small, and indeed—except for the heat-waves—almost negligible. Epidemics such as cholera and scurvy have been conspicuous by their absence, and altogether we have been very lucky in this respect. As soon as the weather gets cooler the troops will come on by leaps and bounds; and judging by the start which they have now got in condition, as compared to last year, they ought to be fit to fight for their lives in the next few weeks.

Before we began operations last winter I impressed upon my D.M.S. the necessity for keeping every man that it was possible to keep in the country, instead of evacuating the sick broadcast, as I found was being done when I was down at Basra last autumn. He entered whole-heartedly into the idea, with the result that we have kept in the country and returned to the ranks over 113,000 men since January 1st, which I think you will admit is pretty good. Our hospitals are excellent considering where we are, and I often wish that people from England could come and see them, and see how the troops are looked after in them.

Those which we have made in Bagdad are in cool, airy buildings, and with facilities such as electric fans, ice, soda water, eggs, fowls, etc., in abundance.

Our communications now are most satisfactory. There is occasionally congestion at the Port of Basra, but we are doing our best, and with some success, to develop the Port to meet the needs of our increasing numbers, and we can now handle sufficient tonnage there monthly to fulfil our requirements. The only cause for anxiety is whether sufficient shipping can be provided to put our requirements into the Port, but there is no reason at present to suppose that we shall be stinted in this respect. Our river fleet is doing magnificently ; the river is about at its lowest at present, and still shows signs of falling, but only very, very slightly now. Still, groundings are infrequent, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which the Inland Water Transport have run this important part of our communication. The channels are constantly changing, and most accurate buoying is therefore necessary, and the absence of stoppages on the river redounds considerably to the credit of all concerned. We have had to juggle, of course, a good deal with loading our steamers, that is to say, we have had to lighten the loads as the river fell ; but by putting the shallow draft ships on the upper reaches, which are the worst, and by lightening the loads all through, we have got on so far quite well.

The Kut-Bagdad railway is now proving useful as an auxiliary to the river fleet, for it is above Kut that we have expected most of our difficulties. When we first got into Bagdad it was urged that we should run a 2′ 6″ line from Kut here, but I would not hear of it ; and I am glad that I stuck to my point, for such a line would have been little or no use to us, whereas with our metre gauge we are actually moving 800 tons a day on this bit of line, and hope to get it up to over 900 tons in a week or so. The railway problem is a most pressing question just now. India is always urging me to complete the link from Amara to Kut, which, on paper, seems very advisable, and which naturally I should like to have if other demands were not more urgent. But it is not really essential with our fleet and the way that we can ring the changes between our light draft and our deep draft steamers and the Kurna-Amara and Kut-Bagdad railways. For instance, if the river fails us above Kut we can concentrate all the

steamers on the lower reaches, and run the things through entirely by rail from Kut by bringing up more rolling stock from the Kurna-Amara line to the Kut-Bagdad line. But the point where we must have railway development is round Bagdad, and in advance of it, and in my opinion it is quite out of the question to tackle anything like the Amara-Kut section till our needs are fully met round here. As it is, I cannot get material and rolling stock half as fast as I should like, and for want of better material I have had to run a 2′ 6″ line out to Baqubah, and on towards Shahraban. This I want to replace with metre gauge as soon as I can get the necessary material and additional rolling stock up. Then, again, there are the extensions to the Bagdad-Samarrah standard gauge, which are most pressing. We have made a branch line out towards Sadiyeh, and now we want to link up the Euphrates, not only to facilitate the movement of troops, but also the bringing in of supplies from that fertile district. As regards the Bagdad-Samarrah railway I think the Turks thought that they had destroyed all their engines, but we have already patched up five of their largest, and they are running merrily, and we hope to renovate some more. The Basra-Kurna line should be open this month, and that will make a through line from Nasariyeh, via Basra, to Amara. Later on I shall naturally be pleased to have the link from Amara to Kut completed—but not at the expense of our railway developments round here, which will be invaluable in meeting the requirements of the Army and lightening the strain thrown on our transport.

Our situation as regards supplies and munitions is quite satisfactory. I have instituted a Directorate of Local Resources, which is now a huge concern, and is bringing under control the whole of the resources of the country as regards every sort of article. In supplies alone we are getting an average of 200 tons daily in and around Bagdad, but mainly from the Euphrates, and this, as you can realise, is good business. We have also worked out a big scheme for placing an area under cultivation at once, which will satisfy the needs of the whole Army next year as regards grain and fodder. It means a considerable outlay in money, but we shall get it back with interest ; and after all it is one of the first principles in war to live on the country as far as possible. Besides, as shipping is at present a difficulty, and

from many other aspects, it should have a far-reaching effect even outside Mesopotamia. As I am satisfied that it is a good business-like proposition, I have issued orders to carry on pending sanction to the whole scheme, as every moment is of value in getting the area under cultivation.

To facilitate the supply situation later when we become busy, I am placing well-stocked magazines at important centres, and especially at our posts wide on the flank, for these can be filled to a great extent locally, and so they do not interfere with the current maintenance of the Army.

Things are still quiet, generally speaking, on our front, but no doubt, as with us, so with the other side, reorganisation and preparation are going on. We have most recent information that the railway has not yet reached Nisibin, and though the War Office seem to think that it has reached a point further east, we are pretty confident that we are right. However, the matter is not one of very great importance, because we are both agreed that the railway will probably reach Mosul in the next few months. We have had information from time to time that some eleven divisions are coming down here in addition to the five which are now opposed to us and the Russians in our immediate neighbourhood, but there is little which can be said to be absolutely reliable so far. No doubt the Turks will be able to maintain such numbers without difficulty, for their troops can subsist on little. It is the transport difficulty which they will find, I expect, their real trouble, though this may be minimised to a certain extent by importing a huge fleet of motor lorries, which will be most useful except when the ground is wet. Whether they have got the vehicles and the petrol and the spares, and can afford to send them here, I am, of course, unable to say. Their advance will probably be on three lines,—the Dialah, Tigris, and Euphrates—and I should imagine in the nature of an enveloping one. This will give us the advantage of interior lines, though our advantages in this respect will be minimised by the fact that Bagdad is a difficult city to defend, as the Turks found when they evacuated it, and in order to protect it adequately one requires some space to manœuvre. It is for this reason that we pushed forward in the first place to Samarrah and Feluja, and more recently to Shahraban and Beled Ruz, when the Russians left us in the lurch.

I had hoped that we should be able to take the offensive all

along the line,—here, Gaza, Sulamaniyeh, Lake Urmia, and the Caucasus—and this, in my opinion, would be the best defence for Bagdad. But owing to the hopeless state in which the Russians are, our powers in this respect are obviously limited. Still, I have not even yet lost all hope of coaxing the Russians forward ; and even if they will reoccupy the line of the Dialah, and, better still, push on to Kifri, and if they will come down resolutely on Sulamaniyeh and Rowanduz, it will be all to the good, and save us a certain amount of responsibility as regards our right flank. But at present they seem such a rabble that it is difficult to expect much from them.

So far as hostile arrivals on our front are concerned, troops keep dribbling in, but in no great numbers so far ; but what is more significant is the arrival of a certain proportion of German and Austrian specialists.

There is much more that I could write, but time will not permit as I am so busy. I have written fairly openly as regards our plans, as I know that they will interest you, but I feel sure that you will treat the various points with the discretion they deserve.
—Yours sincerely, F. S. Maude.

From Major-General C. G. Briggs :

Headquarters,
16th Corps,
Salonika Army, 13*th October* 1917.

My dear Repington,—Thanks so very many for your most interesting letter of the 8th September.

Throughout the war I have frequently thought how much I should like an hour or two's chat with you, more especially when the optimists were on the buck. I have always read with deep interest all your articles in the *Times*, and enjoyed how you quietly poured cold water on them, and tried to make them realise that words will not win a war, but solid fighting only. Had I been home since the commencement, I should have made a point of looking you up, as there is so much I wanted to ask you about.

I am very fit and well, thanks, and have not missed a day so far. I am not out here by choice, and have not expressed a desire so far to be anywhere, or to do anything to my liking. I have only tried to do my duty, as all soldiers should in a war like this.

I have been commanding this Corps since May 1916. Have a vast front (70 miles) and large sphere of influence, any amount to do, and have averaged thirty miles a day on horseback. I know you loathe[1] the Salonika Army, and so do many more, but it is very hard luck on us who have pulled more than double our weight for the past eighteen months, and sometimes three times. Had we the troops and guns you would very soon see the Bulgar fly. He is a clean and honest fighter, but has no heart in the war. If he had one real knock, I am sure the troops would not put up another fight. Twice here I felt sure that with another fresh division and a regular cavalry brigade I could have kept him on the move.

I have always felt that had Rumania been put in at the right time and properly backed by the Russians, we should have cut the Boches off from Bulgaria and Turkey, and ended the Eastern question once and for all. Both the Bulgar and the Turk, if isolated, would, in my opinion, be delighted to make peace. I used to have Turks here; they were bold patrollers, but loved an excuse to be captured, the same as the Bulgar. Many and many prisoners have said, 'If you could only attack us we should glory in the excuse of surrendering.' Were we to abandon this country and leave the poor Serb to his own devices, as he would not now come back he would make peace, and our name would stink in the nostrils of every one in the Balkans.

The Greek question is a very difficult one. . . . Every one in the Balkans is heartily sick of war, they have had so much of it. Again, the small States who have joined us so far, certainly have had cause to regret their decision, as we generally appear to leave them to the wolves. Remember how hard it is for us out here in this climate to be jeered at for not fighting more. I wish you could come out here and see for yourself.

Well, good luck to you. I hope you can read my scrawl.—Yours sincerely, C. G. Briggs.

Monday, Oct. 29. Dined with Mrs. Harry Higgins, Lady Coates, Marjorie, and the Murrays.

Tuesday, Oct. 30. Lunched with Lord Edward, formerly Count Gleichen, at 35 Catherine Street, Buckingham Gate, to talk over information with him and Headlam—mainly

[1] To loathe the policy of Salonika was not to loathe the long-suffering Army.

about Russia and the question of the Kaiser's responsibility for the war. Headlam much interested about Von Leipzig's visit to me at the end of July 1914, and thinks that it may supply the missing link in the evidence.

Wednesday, Oct. 31. At 12.15 at night an air raid warning. At 1.15 they began to arrive in relays, and firing went on till 2.15, breaking out again more than once as fresh raiders appeared: the 'All Clear' was sounded by the bugles at about 3.15 A.M. I could see nothing, for though the moon was full last night the sky this morning was obscured by fleecy clouds in parts. The servants went below for shelter.

Thursday, Nov. 1. Attended the funeral service for Gladys, Lady Ripon. A sad break of a link with the past. The most wonderful and beautiful woman, with rare distinction, unconquerable high spirits, and in her youth a *joie de vivre* and vivacity unimaginable. A good friend too, and was always the same to me from first to last. Poor Ripon dreadfully sad and Lady Juliet in despair. Most of the Herbert relations at the service, and many friends.

Friday, Nov. 2. Saw Sammy Scott in the morning, and we put our heads together about the set being made at the General Staff by the *Manchester Guardian*, *Evening Standard*, and other papers, all the attacks obviously inspired from the same source, and no one doubts that Downing Street is this source. Lunched with Lady Islington. Went on later to see Marlowe, editor of the *Daily Mail*, and discussed the General Staff attacks. Northcliffe due back in a week or two from America, and we hope to fend off a crisis till he comes. Saw Freeman in Dawson's absence, and it was agreed that I should write about the attacks. Steed is furious with the War Office, and pours into me over the telephone a stream of vituperation, but I can't make out what he wants. The Italian affair, which began on Oct. 23, has resulted in a great smash, and Cadorna is back behind the Tagliamento, with a loss of 180,000 prisoners and 1500 guns. We and the French are sending divisions,

but the whole affair looks very bad. Cadorna assured us before the attack that he and his generals were confident of success. They had a superiority of 200,000 men, but the 2nd Italian Army allowed the Germans, six divisions, to run over them, and surrendered in a wholesale manner, defending themselves feebly. Robertson is in Italy. Most people seem to have lost their heads like Steed, and to be busy abusing everybody else. Pat Cox and Villiers, Milne's military secretary, came up to Maryon to discuss Salonika. They agree that if a couple of German divisions arrive to encourage the Bulgars, we may be driven back upon the Birdcage position, close around Salonika, but they say that we can hold on there. They put us down now, after the recent reductions, at 40,000 rifles, the French about the same, the Serbs 25,000, and one Italian division and the Russians, about 120,000 rifles in all. I have been writing on the Italian and the Palestine campaigns. Allenby took Beersheba on Nov. 1, and has evidently begun his big attack: he took 1800 prisoners and some guns.

Saturday, Nov. 3. The dead set being made at Robertson and the General Staff continues. David Davies began it in the *Sunday Times* three weeks ago. Then Scott and the *Manchester Guardian* took it up this week, Monday and Thursday, while the *Evening Standard's* London diary man is also hard at it. Complete ignorance and rank injustice are the characteristics of these attacks, which display a common origin and imply an attempt to create a fictitious public opinion. Macpherson's answer to a question in the H. of C. on Thursday last should dispose of the question whether Cadorna asked our help. It is well known that he expressed his complete confidence in being able to beat off the attack.

Dined with Lady Ridley at Tenterden Street. A pleasant little party. Cyril Ward told us many interesting things about North Sea flotilla work. General Sykes handed the vegetables round owing to shortage of servants, to Ward's great delight. He said that he had always longed to be waited on by a general. I find that Robertson has made

some enemies by his treatment of David Henderson and Brancker. Lady Ridley missed the Piccadilly bomb by only three minutes. The police stopped her.

Sunday, Nov. 4. Allenby has captured the first Turkish line of defence at Gaza and has beaten off Turkish counter-attacks with much loss to the enemy. A divine day. Dined with Lady Scarbrough. Lady Ridley, Lady Londonderry, General Lawson, and the American Military Attaché General Lassiter also there. Agreeable as always. We had a great pow-wow afterwards about war aims and how to attain them. Lady R. opposing us all in turn as her manner is, but hitting the nails on the head as usual. Lady L., at dinner, told us about her Middle Park triumph. She is not returning from Lumley for another month.

Monday, Nov. 5. Lunched with Evelyn FitzGerald at his rooms. Jack Cowans and Sutherland, the P.M.'s secretary, also there. I attacked the latter at once about the beastly things that were being said about the General Staff, and told him how it was alienating many of L. G.'s friends. His reply was very amusing and significant. We told him that the Army was greatly under establishment, that the Allied War Council was eye-wash, and that the only thing that mattered was to raise fresh divisions and make up the deficit in our ranks. He tells us that David Davies has been fired out, and that after he had written many severe letters to L. G., the latter had sent one to D. D. which sent him to bed for three weeks with a nervous breakdown. S. surprised at the number of things we told him which he did not know. He was amusing about the cringing letters of the applicants for office and honours.

Went to see Lady Beresford and had a good talk with her and the Admiral. He knew nothing of the minefield. He is taking up Havelock Wilson and his crowd very warmly.

Tuesday, Nov. 6. Went to see a friend at the F.O. He says that the Greek princes who came here all lied about Tino and his assumed love for the Allies, which has been exposed by the letters and wires now revealed. He says that the Greek Royal Family are now done for here and will

always be accounted Boches. He never trusted them. He also mistrusts the new Greek divisions, and agrees that the Huns will come down on us at Salonika, and wishes us to withdraw to the Birdcage position. He was surprised to hear of our deficit in men, and was anxious about the Italians. He is very sarcastic about the Inter-Allied Staff, and asks whom will they advise, and will they have any executive power? He likes the look of things no more than I do. I have put my ideas on paper for the *Times*, and G. D. has not published them. My F.O. friend says that Balfour is the only statesman of the lot of them.

Wednesday, Nov. 7. Went to see Winston in the afternoon. He assures me that Foch was misinformed, and that we are to have a big rise in guns, aeroplanes, etc., next year, but all depends on his retaining his labour. He is as much for the Inter-Allied Staff as I am against it. We talked of the Second Dardanelles Report which is soon coming out. I saw a lot of leading soldiers home from France. They all hate the Inter-Allied Staff like the devil. We are greatly down in men on balance, and the War Cabinet continues to do nothing because nobody can expose it. It is thought that Italy has 220 good battalions, and may hope to hold the Piave. The French divisions will get there in a few days, and ours by November 20. Each of the two lines of rail can support ten divisions in the field. I learnt that Cadorna, Foch, and H. Wilson are to be the trio of the Inter-Allied Staff at Paris. My editor is withholding from publication my opinions on the failure of the War Cabinet to produce the necessary military force. We are very short of a Delane just now. However, I am asked to address the 1900 Club again, and they shall learn the truth at any rate.

Thursday, Nov. 8. Went on to see a short dramatic play, *The 13th Chair*, which thrilled us. Doris Keane and Gladys Unger in a box. They were both enthralled by the play, in which Mrs. Pat. Campbell takes the chief part and acts right well.

Friday, Nov. 9. Allenby has taken Gaza and 40 Turkish

guns. The Turkish Army is in general retreat. Went on to see the German postcards, books, and caricatures at Strand House, Portugal Street, a collection made by the Censorship which has looted the mails. Very interesting. Coarse but virile, and often very funny. The King has recently inspected them. Held up in the Strand by the Lord Mayor's Show which was passing. Some good Dominion detachments and a lot of captured guns and other war material. But rather a tin-pot affair on the whole, and the banquet to-day has provoked criticism and ridicule.

Saturday, Nov. 10. An official announcement is made that 'a Supreme Political Council of the Allies for the whole of the Western Front' is created, and that this Council is to be assisted by a permanent central military committee consisting of Foch, Cadorna, and H. Wilson. General Diaz, with whom I messed at Udine last year, succeeds Cadorna in the Command in Italy. A good choice, but what a position! In Russia the Extremists of the Soviet are now in control at Petrograd, and Kerensky has left the capital. I went down for the week-end to Mrs. Ronny Greville's house, Polesden-Lacey, near Bookham, and found a party consisting of Mr. and Mrs. McKenna, Mrs. Peto, M. Mouravieff Apostol and his wife, Mrs. George Keppel, Sir Ernest Cassel, M. Bardac, and Lord Ilchester. A most comfortable house, and everything exceedingly well done. A very cheery party and a perfect hostess. We walked, golfed, and talked. The Mouravieffs pleasant people and are running a hospital in London. McKenna and I agree in our dislike of the new Allied military committee. No committee ever yet won a war, though some have lost wars. Sir Ernest declares that since America came in, it has made all the difference in finance, and that we can go on for a couple of years. We owe the money to our own people, and, like Germany, can carry on for this reason.

The house was completed in 1913 by the present owner. It has fine grounds and might be a hundred miles from anywhere instead of only twenty-two miles from London. The

woods are very beautiful. We almost decided to resurrect the idea of *The Gauntlet*. The baths have a fine assortment of salts and ointments and scented waters for the bather to select from. This reminded Mrs. McKenna of Lord D'Abernon, who says that when he stays with a Jew he always pours the whole of the bath salts into his tub as a protest against the Crucifixion!

Monday, Nov. 12. Lunched with Robertson, just back from Italy. He had written to say that I needed no telling of the meaning of the new Paris Military Committee. He says that he had nothing whatever to do with setting up the new machinery. It was all, he says, decided in his absence, and he had never been asked for his opinion, nor had an opportunity of giving it, as the thing was approved before he saw it. We talked it over at and after lunch. R. says that the *débâcle* in Italy was indescribable. Our gunners got their heavies back, manhandling them in part, but lost all their ammunition, plant, and stores. The four French divisions are towards Verona: ours are more to the south, and some going towards Padua. A station north of Genoa is our base. There were awful rows between the French and Italians about the places where the French should detrain. We have four divisions on the way and now arriving. The two railways are giving sixty trains a day between them, and all works smoothly on the lines. But we have only the two lines, via Mt. Cenis and the Riviera, while the enemy has five towards the Isonzo, and also the Trentino line. The more we send and the greater we make the war in Italy, the greater will be the enemy's advantage in view of the Italian Army collapse. A very bad look-out, and R. thinks that we may have to send twelve divisions, and that we shall then be on the defensive in France. He also says that Salonika is ripe for a Boche harvest, as I think.

We talked over the Paris plan, and are both contemptuous of making war by committee. R. assures me that Haig saw the P.M., Sunday week, and was asked what he thought of it. Haig criticised it severely. Some

very crisp remarks on each side followed. I can take it that the G.H.Q. are as much opposed to the Versailles Military Committee as we are. R. is sure that Eric Geddes and the Admiralty would not allow a naval officer to act as Wilson is to act. The course R. proposes to take is to have the whole situation better defined, and then to endeavour to make the thing work, a course of which I approved, as a schism between the politicians and the soldiers would be fatal in such a grave crisis. R. says that L. G. is fed up with him, but the course which the P.M. has adopted is foolish, for to separate the duties of advising and executing is sure to lead to trouble. It appears that Pétain dislikes the scheme as much as we do, but Paris is in ecstasies at being made the head centre of the war, and L. G. is being entertained to-day at a banquet in Paris. Went down to the *Times* and talked to Dawson, Wilton, Fraser, and Scott. Told Dawson of my grave objection to the Paris Military Committee and of the fact that Robertson and Haig are both warmly opposed to it.

Tuesday, Nov. 13. This morning comes the report of our P.M.'s astonishing speech at the Paris luncheon, in which he castigated every one concerned in the past conduct of the war except himself, and exalted himself as the only wise man. A dreadful, self-righteous speech, with severe indictment of the soldiers, but not by name. I suppose that he saw part of the Italian *débandade* and was rattled by it. The announcement is made that a 'Supreme' Political Council of the Allies and an advisory military committee of Foch, Cadorna, and Wilson have been created at Paris. I write an article, mainly on the committee of the soldiers, pointing out its serious dangers and disadvantages. The Political Council I see no objection to, but war by committee will not wash. There are 25 Italian divisions on the Piave with 240 heavy guns dug in and 700 field guns. The French are to hold the hills west of Valdobbiadene, and part of the Piave: we are to be on the French right on the river. Plumer is to command our forces. They would have done better to send Rawly,

as Plumer will be a loss to Flanders. All the soldiers in despair about the Allied Advisory Committee, which is a *moyen détourné* to give L. G. control of strategy. I went down to the *Times* to post up the editor in all these events. He had done better in his leader to-day, but is still wobbling.

Wednesday, Nov. 14. Lunched with Madame Vandervelde and met the new Belgian Minister and his American wife. Wrote an article on L. G.'s speech in Paris, and was very critical of it. The P.M. reads out in the House of Commons the agreement between England, France, and Italy about the 'Supreme War Council,' as it has now been called, while in France they talk of the 'Allied Staff.' L. G. says that they are to have no executive powers and no Operations Branch. Who the deuce commands the Allied Armies in France now, no one knows. Went down to the *Times* to speak to Dawson about the whole matter. Allenby has reached the brook Kedron! He has 10 Turkish divisions in his front, but they have lost already more than half their strength in men and guns, thanks to Allenby's vigorous operations. One Boche division is on its way south by rail from Aleppo. We are now 95,000 men down, including 75,000 in France. We need 500,000 by March, of which 225,000 are in sight. Our total losses in the war have been 1,400,000, of these about 500,000 in the operations of July 1 to November 19, 1916, and 500,000 in this year's fighting in France and Flanders, April 9 to November. We have, so far as I can recall the figures, about 600,000 killed, severely wounded, and missing.

Friday, Nov. 16. Lunched with Lady Cunard; Lady Londonderry, Lord L. Stuart, Lady Leslie, Lord Chaplin, and Mrs. Ronny Greville. Was amused by some one's description of the Dowager Lady L. as 'the ferocious Lady Londonderry.' Young Lady L. gave me an amusing description of her experiences and Lord Bertie Vane-Tempest's at Londonderry House on the night of the last raid. Lord B. alternating between rage, dread, and curiosity. Finally a shell hit the fountain in Park Lane, opposite the

house, and drove them from the windows. Walked across the park with Lady L. and talked Ireland. C. appears to be doing very well indeed, as I knew he would, and to be one of the eight of the inner committee of the Convention. Mrs. Greville had told me that Sidney Greville had told her yesterday that Robertson and Haig had resigned. Went to the W.O. to inquire. X. had heard nothing of it, and doubted it, as I did. X. says that few of the courtier folk, except Clive Wigram, know what is going on. The King gets his own file of reports and locks them up himself. Wigram also has his files, and it is rare for others at the Palace to know much. I saw Lucas afterwards, and then Robertson for a few moments. Lucas described to me the fury of Haig's generals about the Rapallo agreement, and said that they were all unanimous. Robertson has not resigned, nor has Haig. But there is a public outcry about L. G.'s Paris speech, and the new plan is riddled with criticism. We shall see what happens on Monday.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FIRST MUTTERINGS OF A STORM

Causes of our shortage of strengths—Reasons for Italian defeat—A talk with M. Venizelos—Death of Sir Stanley Maude—Mr. Lloyd George on the Rapallo Agreement—An address on the war to the 1900 Club—Colonel House—A visit to Wilton—Russian affairs—General Byng's victory at Cambrai—Lord Lansdowne's letter—A set-back at Cambrai—Strength of our forces in different theatres—'Political strategy'—A letter from General Allenby describing his victory—The German movement westward in its first stages—Admiral Wemyss succeeds Admiral Jellicoe as First Sea Lord—F.M. Sir D. Haig and General Pétain arrange for mutual support—General Lawrence becomes Chief of Staff in France—Why Admiral Jellicoe was relieved—Mistakes in calculation of American transport—A row in the War Cabinet about aeroplanes—War Cabinet procedure after a raid on London—Press manipulations—Defensive arrangements in France—Kavanagh on the cavalry—End of a dramatic year.

Saturday, Nov. 17. Called on Sir Auckland Geddes, now Director of National Service, at the Windsor Hotel, Victoria Street, S.W. I told him that I had come to ask what balance we had in the man-power bank, and how much we could draw, and overdraw, from the bank for the Army. He said about ten to eleven millions of persons were now engaged in industry, of whom two millions were women. He could not —? was not allowed to—take many men from agriculture, shipyards, railways, mines, or munitions, and indeed the claims of these and for aircraft meant a fresh call upon him for 300,000 men this coming year, November 1917 to October 1918. He said that the look-out for the Army was bad. The Army and Navy needed 1,250,000 men for the next twelve months. He might get 35,000 from non-essential industries, 240,000 from the 18-year-old men of the year, 150,000 from men aged 43 to 50, and 100,000 by sending

out to fight the youths of 18½ instead of 19. But, all told, this only meant 600,000 spread out over the whole of 1918, which was but the half of the requirements, and even this result could only be secured if the Government faced the legislation, which would be bitterly opposed, for getting the men of 43 to 50. There would also be a tremendous internal upheaval, and many transfers of people from one business to another to be carried out.

He thought that most of the departments were now playing the game, but said that a certain Minister understood nothing of team-play and was a danger to the country and should be controlled. He told me of a case in which 30,000 tons of steel had been given to the Americans to roof their huts, without consulting anybody, though we did not use steel for such a purpose and wanted every pound of it ourselves. It appears that the Americans want us to produce their uniforms and boots, and Geddes is not yet clear what is the best way to proceed in the matter. It may be best to transfer certain factories bodily to American Staffs. There are still 1,400,000 men at home, and he admits the deficiency of 95,000 abroad, but, of course, the numbers available for active home defence remain not much over 100,000 as before. Not a good look-out, but we agree that the Germans are even worse off. I told him the position of France, which he did not know. I asked whether he was examining the programmes of departments in detail, and he said that he was. We discussed the question of reducing the number of battalions in a division. He is for it, but will not allow that we can make up 30 extra divisions in France out of 64×3 battalions saved. He only wants to raise 10 new divisions and to use the balance of men for drafts. So we should be worse off, except in the number of divisions and their guns. The replacing of the lost Italian guns will be a great strain, and he said that I knew we were not so strong in heavy guns in the West as the Boches, and that we contemplated a 40 per cent. increase in guns next year. The Boches contemplated a great increase in aircraft next year, and Geddes gave first

place to our answer to this. I agreed. He said that our people might not go on if freely bombed.

Sunday, Nov. 18. Colonel Fagalde and I discussed affairs. He thinks that there are still a million Italians in the fighting line all told. With the 4 French divisions are 420 guns, including 180 heavies. There is no C.-in-C. in Italy. We each command our own lot. F. and I agree that we ought to send 20 divisions, attempt a stroke, and if we fail, then fortify a river line and get the Italians to dig in, and go on with the war in France. F. says that it is the Italian Command and Staff that chiefly failed. They sent up all their reserves right to the front line, and when the Boches broke in they found a regular crowd of Italians in rear, without proper instructions, and also tired and short of food, having been brought great distances, badly fed, and exposed at nights, *à la belle étoile.* F. says that the Italian Staff is not often enough set to regimental duty, and that they are not practical because they are not necessarily good regimental officers. He praised the German custom of making C.O.s certify on their honour that a candidate for the Staff was a good regimental officer. We find that we are both in favour of an offensive down the Meuse, but F. thinks that if we try it in 1918 the Boches will be able to concentrate to resist it, and that we must wait till 1919 and for the arrival of the Americans in strength. In 1918 we ought to have only limited attacks like Verdun, Malmaison, Arras, and Messines.

Went to see Lady D'Abernon, and we bewailed the sorrows of Italy. She has been out there all the summer nursing (a fine thing to do), and she administers anæsthetics, I am told, better than many professionals. We went off to Highgate together to have tea with Sir A. and Lady Crosfield at West Hill. A large party leaving after tennis, including the McKennas, Lady Drogheda, Miss Kerr-Clark, and others. M. Venizelos spending the week-end there, and I had a talk with him. He has come for the Inter-Allied Conference. He is anxious about the position in Salonika, and not pleased about the withdrawal of our

two divisions for Allenby. He says that Robertson promises him forty heavy guns, and that the plant for the last six of the nine Greek divisions will be coming along from France by the end of December. V.'s idea is that when Allenby has reached his objective he will dig in, and that then troops can be transferred again; and after a landing on the Bulgarian coast, a march can follow on Adrianople. His idea is that when the communications with Berlin are cut, the Turks will come to terms and not before. I asked about his divisions and whether we could rely upon them. He said we could, as they were trained and only awaited their guns. He had got rid of 500 of Tino's adherents among the officers, and declares that Tino never had the majority of the people with him. Venizelos looks about sixty-five, is dapper and well preserved, very alert with a keen face, and voluble in baddish French. He seemed to take very moderate views and to be very reasonable and sensible, but I don't know what Robertson and Allenby will say about his strategy.

I heard with deep sorrow the news of Joe Maude's death of cholera in Mesopotamia, and wrote the memoir of him in the *Times*. He was a great leader, a brave man, and dies when he is most needed. His work has been simply invaluable, and he is a terrible loss to the country.

Monday, Nov. 19. I went to the House of Commons in the afternoon to hear the great debate on the Rapallo agreement and L. G.'s Paris speech. Asquith opened in a speech of great moderation, asking many pertinent questions, and L. G. replied at once. The House was crammed. I sat in the Serjeant-at-Arms' box and had a good view. L. G. at his best. He began slowly and either answered or skilfully evaded A.'s questions. Then he stoked up and began to lay about him, using every artifice of the demagogue and the play-actor. He played on the whole gamut of human emotions, cajoling, threatening with fierce gestures, and rising to a great height of simulated passion. He was humorous too, and the whole House rose to him and rocked with joy. What an assembly!

Directly the speech was over, every one flocked out to tea, and nobody listened to what followed. Asquith should have put some one else to lead and should have followed L. G. It is too delicious to compare the Paris speech and this one with L. G.'s past speeches at the Albert Hall, Carnarvon, etc. They are absolutely contradictory, and everything that he said was true then, he now says is untrue. What a game of hanky-panky politics are!

Dined with Lord Haldane, and we bewailed the death of Maude and the supersession of statesmanship by demagoguism at home. An interesting talk. We ultimately came to the conclusion that the utilisation of the superior resources of the Allies was the true mission of Government now. I liked his dictum that L. G.'s mind fastened on images and banned concepts.

Tuesday, Nov. 20. Things going on a trifle better in Italy, and the Piave line is still held. The enemy is probably rearranging his troops for a fresh attack. The Extremists are apparently in control in Russia, and civil war is in progress. Lunched at Mrs. Denistoun's with Jack Cowans and the Duchess Millie Sutherland. We had an amusing talk with all our various experiences of men and women and things. The Duchess has worked like a heroine for two years at her hospital near Calais. Her application to go to Italy has been refused. Fitz now commands a yeomanry brigade in Palestine. We discussed the L. G. speech and were all critical of it. Jack says that the Government are rabid with me for supporting the General Staff. He says that as L. G. was saying that the U-boats no longer inspired him with anxiety, a large ship with 8000 tons of cargo was sunk four miles off Dartmouth, and that ten large ships are down this week. In the evening dined with Colonel and Mrs. Lucas at 13 Cleveland Row, and we went afterwards to the 1900 Club, where I gave an address on the war, telling the members privately the whole position as I knew it. Mr. Comyn Platt, the Secretary, said it was the largest gathering that they had had. The room crammed. Wilfrid Ashley presided. I was

asked numerous questions afterwards, and received many compliments. The Secretary wrote to me afterwards: 'After you left, and before for that matter, your praises were uttered to the skies. Every one was enormously impressed. A thousand thanks for coming. You had a bumper evening if that causes you any satisfaction. Indeed, never before have we had such a crowd.'

Wednesday, Nov. 21. Saw Sir W. Robertson for a short time at the War Office. He is going to breakfast with the P.M. to-morrow. He hates breakfasting out. He said that he was going to ask whether he was to go to Paris. I advised him to assume that he was, and only to ask *when* he was to start. A speech by Carson, saying that he acknowledged no strategical authority but that of Robertson and Jellicoe, makes me ask whether the War Cabinet have realised their error and have beaten a retreat. R. hopes that the Italians will now stand. Byng's victory yesterday near Cambrai very comforting. An area of five miles deep by twelve broad has been cleared. The Tanks were used in mass, and cleared the wire away instead of the guns. There was no artillery preparation, and there was a complete surprise. We studied the result on large maps. It is one of the smartest affairs of the war and very creditable to all. A good comment upon L. G.'s sarcastic references to the Western front. R. tells me that Allenby is a bit hung up for supplies in the difficult hills of Judæa.

Dined with Mrs. Astor, and met Colonel and Mrs. House, and Pringle the M.P. A good talk with House, who was communicative, which is rare with him. The President must have great confidence in him, as H. modified one of the President's messages about the Allied War Council. H. says that the President was not aware of all going on here, so H. modified the message. But he showed the original to L. G., who 'peeved,' as H. says, because the message was modified. H. is well aware of the situation here, and of the distrust of our high commanders in war by committee. He is taking Bliss, the American Chief of Staff, to Paris with him, and they will stay in Paris after

the Allied Conference for the War Council. I hope that they may stay on after, for it is everything to have the American influence exerted, and I trust House's sagacity and coolness. He is unlikely to be rattled by our war demagogue. We had a good talk over the war. Went on to the opera. Boris Godounoff.

Thursday, Nov. 22. Lunched with Mrs. Ronny Greville, Sir Sidney Greville, Sir R. Graham, Lady Cunard, and a few more. Lady Ridley could not come, as she was seeing her boy off. Met Nabokoff afterwards. He complains that our authorities do not consult him much. He thinks that a conservative nucleus may be forming in the south of Russia, and that we ought to be more in touch with it than we are. If there be such an egg laid, he thinks that we ought to raise the temperature round it to 100° by our assistance. Meanwhile, we Allies are sending no more help to Petrograd, which has issued orders for negotiations and a separate peace, a base desertion of Russia's Allies, and an infraction of our agreement of Sept. 5, 1914, by which all the Allies promised not to make peace separately. Dined with Sir Ernest Cassel, Harry Paulton, Sir George and Lady Murray, Lady Bonham-Carter, and one or two more. Some Bridge. Lady B. C. and I agreed about the debate, and the wrong tactics of her father speaking first.

Saturday, Nov. 24, *and Sunday, Nov.* 25. Lunched at Lord Howard de Walden's house in Belgrave Square to see Tom Bridges. He is up and dressed and getting about, looking well, and will get his new leg in a few weeks. We had a good talk. H. de W. just back from a battalion in France. He has seen many warm corners, including Suvla Bay, during the war, and now has a job under the Q.M.G. Went down to Wilton in the afternoon. Found Gervase Beckett and his new wife (Queenie), Lady Muriel Greville that was, Feversham's widow: Lady Muriel Herbert, Reggie, and Bee, with Patricia and Juliet Duff's pretty girl, Veronica. Reggie still very ill, and looks much pulled down. He is beside himself with anxiety

to get back to France, and the news of the use of cavalry in last Tuesday's battle has upset him all the more. But he is totally unfit and should not be allowed to go back. Gervase Beckett and Lady M. very pleasant people. I have not seen Muriel Herbert for years. She was out in Serbia during the typhus time, and is full of strange and interesting recollections. A striking figure and full of character and intelligence. Bee a perfect hostess, and I was very glad to see old Reggie again and to have a good gossip with him. Returned to town with the Becketts, Monday morning. Beckett told me that the staid old *Saturday Review* was hauled up over an article on Riga, and threatened with the rigours of the law.

Monday, Nov. 26. Lunched with Nabokoff and Wolkoff at Claridge's to discuss Russian affairs. N. says that for the last six months he has been boycotted by London Society and has scarcely seen any one. Even when he goes to a restaurant he hears people talking about 'those damned Russians.' He does not know whether Russia will be represented at the Paris Conference and War Council. He has never been consulted by our War Cabinet, though M. Cambon constantly has been. The position of all the Russian diplomatic representatives is most difficult, as they do not represent the Extremists who have assumed office at Petrograd and yet are not acknowledged as a Government by the Allies. N. considers that the Germans have practically occupied Petrograd, and have probably won at Moscow. But Kaledin and the Cossacks seem to be acting in the South, and N. is very anxious for us to get into communication with them, suggesting Mesopotamia, which is a long way round. He says that Harmonius and the Russian Supply Commission here offer us fifty officers to serve in our Army, and the Russian naval forces here of two destroyers and five auxiliary ships are growing restless and might be used by us. We do not seem to distinguish between good and bad Russians. It is all a very difficult position for the Embassy, and I am unfeignedly sorry for them all.

Tuesday, Nov. 27. Lunched with Olive; Lady Kitty Somerset, Lady Randolph, Mrs. Crawshay, Mr. Norton, Dr. Ross, and Sir Claude Phillips. Lady R. defined sin as 'exaggerated inclinations.' Ross told some good stories. Went on to the War Office and found that Robertson, Macdonogh, Jellicoe, and one of his admirals had accompanied the P.M., Balfour, and Milner to Paris to-day. A pretty large crowd of twenty-six persons. The War Cabinet have assured the Army Council in writing that the C.I.G.S. shall always go with Ministers to the War Council, and that he shall remain the official adviser on strategy. War waged by a conference is not attractive. I much prefer the quiet meetings of Joffre and Robertson. Haig's last success was due to secrecy, and not a soul in Paris or here knew of the plan. Hence its success. Byng has taken 10,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

Thursday, Nov. 29. Lunched with Belle Herbert; Lady Muriel, Lord and Lady Alistair Innes-Ker, the Duchess of Roxburghe, Sir Ronald Graham, Lady Leslie, and one or two more. Another good talk with Lady Muriel upon her strange and interesting experiences in Serbia, and upon other matters. A very cheery party, and much chaff. A long sitting of the Tribunal all the afternoon.

Friday, Nov. 30. Lord Lansdowne's letter advocating an early peace and a pact of the nations, refused by the *Times*, was published in the *D.T.* yesterday, and is to-day anathematised by all except the pacificists. It makes a great stir. Lunched at Londonderry House; Lord and Lady L., Evelyn FitzGerald, Lady Islington, and Hankey. C. is suffering from a blocked vein in the leg, and is ordered to bed. The Irish Convention is hung up by disagreement on future finance, but C. returns to Dublin, Dec. 10, and all hope of some sort of patched-up settlement is not yet lost. From all sides I hear how admirably C. has done, as I always expected he would. A pleasant talk. Lady Muriel laid up, so I went to see Billy Lambton alone. He is at 14 Grosvenor Crescent in Lady Northcliffe's hospital. Very weak from his fall, which half broke his neck several

months ago, and even now he cannot lift a cup of tea to his lips with his right hand. It must have been a near thing, and it will mean a long recovery I fear, but he is looking well and is bright and cheerful. Lady Pembroke and her sister, Lady Ingestre that was, came in while I was there. Had tea with Mrs. Astor, and we discussed America, people, and things. Lord Hardinge came in just as I was leaving. The resentment caused by the Lansdowne letter *crescit eundo*. I began to write up from my old diaries the story of the genesis of the Anglo-French military agreement.

Saturday, Dec. 1. The Germans opened a serious attack upon Byng in the Cambrai region on November 30. An article of mine pointing out the necessity that we should discriminate between good and naughty Russians brings me many approving letters and messages. Lunched with the Ian Hamiltons. Lord Haldane, Lord and Lady Garvagh, pretty Miss Lindsay, and others. Walked back across the Park with Lord H., and we reconstructed the genesis of the Anglo-French military conversations of January 1906. I saw Maurice for a few minutes. The German counter-attack against Byng got in pretty deeply to the south of the attack and reached our gun positions, so I fear that we have lost a lot of guns and prisoners, but this attack was stayed and driven back; and on the other three-quarters of the front assailed, the Germans were beaten back with heavy loss. Wasted an afternoon playing Bridge at Lady Essex's pretty house. Lord Ribblesdale, Tommy Maguire, Mrs. Astor, Lord R. Cavendish, the Baronne de Meauvey, Lady Florence Willoughby, and Lady Alastair Innes-Ker. Lord Wemyss failed us.

Monday, Dec. 3. Wrote a short article on our operations in Artois and Palestine. Lunched at Claridge's with General Dessino and the Chief of Staff of the Russian division at Salonika. The latter declares that there are two Austro-German Army Corps in Macedonia, but thinks the weather prevents movements everywhere except on the main roads, and that the forces of the two sides are too well balanced to render a hostile attack attractive. Both

generals were very gloomy about Russian affairs. They are totally without trustworthy news, political or family, and receive no money, so how they live I don't know. Dessino told me that a mob had taken hold of an old gentleman in Petrograd and had taken from him all his clothes and even boots, leaving him in nothing but his under-linen. He told them that as he was old and it was cold he might die, whereupon a soldier gave him his coat as he had taken the old gentleman's fur coat. When the old man reached home he found 17,000 roubles in the pocket of the soldier's coat, evidently stolen. I hear that Sir W. R. got on well at Paris. In the political and economic sphere things went well. At the War Council Wilson appeared with a large Staff, Cadorna came alone, and Foch did not come at all, being represented by Weygand as Clemenceau wanted Foch to remain Chief of Staff. Cadorna inquired querulously whether he had joined a boy's school. The meetings were no better and no worse than the old ones, but no harm has yet been done. The military committee had been asked to draw up papers on Salonika, Italy, and the use of the Belgian troops, which will be a harmless occupation for them. Allenby expected to go on again to-day. The Turks have some 7 divisions in position west of Jerusalem, but they are weak, and Allenby intends to turn them in the north and cut them off if he can. He is bringing up the 10th and 60th Salonika Divisions to the front. The Boche division has not appeared yet.

Tuesday, Dec. 4. The Germans claim to have taken 6000 prisoners and 100 guns from Byng. Their attack continued yesterday, but except for their first success in the south of the battlefield, they have gained very little, have had great losses, and two-thirds of the ground gained has been recaptured from them. Something like 200 people assembled at the Quai d'Orsay for the Conference. All the heads of the Allied missions had brought fine speeches in their pockets and the others expected to be there all day listening to them. But Clemenceau evaded a *parlote*. He made an opening speech of a few words, just welcoming all, and then

invited the Conference to break up into committees on the different subjects and to set to work. He gave them five minutes to nominate their men! Our soldiers had little to do till the Saturday, when the War Council sat for two hours only at Versailles. Everybody seems to think the Advisory Military Committee to be tosh. Evidently Clemenceau does, as he will not allow Foch to belong to it. It has been given some holiday tasks and that is all. There was no important strategy discussed. The attack on Byng had been an eye-opener, and our people almost welcome it, as I do, and for the same reason. Our G.S. say that the Boches will look after the war and keep us on the right path. The last two of our 6 divisions for Italy have not gone yet. D. H. had about 20 divisions in reserve when the Boche counterstroke against Byng began, and we think that Haig will be all right, but we have had a heavy punch. Some French divisions were coming up to help. The War Cabinet naturally asked questions about the loss of German moral, upon which Haig and Kiggell were always harping, and our G.S. put the responsibility on X. They will not talk so much of loss of German moral after this last affair.

The question now was what the Cabinet would do about men, of which we were so short. Robertson doubts that the enemy ever expected the results which he obtained on the Isonzo, and hopes that the Italians have got their second wind and will hold on. The French and British troops are now in line at the angle of the mountain and river front. R. says that there are 8 German divisions now, but that the Boches would never have launched only 6 if they had intended a great stroke, and in the mountains the season is very unpropitious. He also thinks that Cambrai has helped Italy out by attracting Boche forces. Allenby had done well, and he would probably take Jerusalem very soon now, but it would scarcely make amends for our losses at Cambrai. R. thinks that the Boche game is to attack hard all the winter and next year, so as to provoke a decision before the Americans grow too strong. I said Yes, and we must dig in and wire ourselves up and be prepared for a defensive phase at need.

R. thinks that the Paris meeting has been no better and no worse than others. The thing might go on, but it was a silly arrangement. An Allied Staff without an Allied Commander was futility. House had not spoken much. Pershing had wanted to come alongside of us, and R. had advised them to get President Wilson to demand it, as his word was law in France. R. also said that the situation was serious, and L. G. had many worries to contend with, so he, R., was anxious to help him if no more tricks were played. I heartily agreed. As to war aims, R. thought that the Allies were in such a position that they could not announce them, for we did not mean to give up the captured colonies or conquests in Turkey, while France held out for Alsace-Lorraine and as much of the left bank of the Rhine as she could get, and Italy had most ambitious claims against Austria and further east. Lastly, America was only out for ideals, including the freeing of Belgium and northern France, and all these divergent aims could not easily be reconciled. R. told us that Lord Rhondda returning from Paris was very sick in the Channel. He said that he hoped that no one would hear about it, for they would say 'Food Controller indeed! Pshaw!' R. says that General Marshall has been given the command in Mesopotamia on Maude's strong recommendation at a moment when there was a question of sending Maude elsewhere.

Wednesday, Dec. 5. An air-raid warning at 4.30 A.M. About 25 Gothas came, but only 6 or so reached London in succession. Much noise and not much harm done. Read Dante till the row was over, and then went to sleep again. Wrote most of the day. Went to see Londonderry before dinner. He is still in bed. To-morrow the P.M. is coming to talk Ireland with him, and C. is going to advise him to apply the Service Acts to Ireland. Dined with Lord and Lady Scarbrough in Park Lane. The Spanish Ambassador, a pretty niece of Mr. Balfour's, Mrs. Lascelles, and her husband, and Philip Kerr, one of the P.M.'s secretaries, and a *jeune premier* of the *Kindergarten* in Downing Street. We were all gloomy because Byng has had to retreat from Bourlon Wood on the

Cambrai battlefield. Kerr amusing about the President's life at Washington. It is most regular and domestic, and he sees few people. A lot of talk about the war. Kerr grumbled that the General Staff had a Press Bureau and rigged the Press. It is a case of *cet animal est très méchant, quand on l'attaque il se défend.*

Thursday, Dec. 6. Another bad submarine week: 16 big ships down. This usually follows when the P.M. has announced that the danger is ended.

Friday, Dec. 7. The Boches have used 18 divisions against Byng, who has now 14 divisions against them. We have lost 35,000 men and 111 guns since the 20th, the Boches possibly 70,000 men and 148 guns. The main Boche attack by 7 divisions on the Bourlon side was beaten off with immense loss, but other Boche divisions got up close in the south and surprised the 55th Division, which was tired and was holding a long line. Our scouts were scuppered and the enemy got in under cover of a fog. It was here that we lost the guns, including some 6-inch howitzers and 60-prs. The Boches have now 150 divisions in the West and 79 in the East, but the latter are being drawn on to fill Western gaps, and some highly skilled electricians have recently been taken prisoners from the Boche infantry. The enemy still holds part of our old line at Villers Ghislain and no one will assure me that we shall retake it. But our new line is strong. Byng had done well with only 6 divisions on the 20th, but the Boches for a long time past have had all their plans ready for rushing up divisions, and they rather overwhelmed us. Had the cavalry gone in at Bourlon they might have got Cambrai, but they were directed on the southern line, and, being held up on the canal, were too late.

I saw Fagalde, who told me that there has never been less unity than now, and we agreed to lunch to-morrow and discuss it. Then I saw a friend acquainted with details of our organisation. We have an aggregate of 3,318,000 men actually in the field abroad, including native troops and labour units, and of these only 2,114,000 in France, of which

about half are fighting troops. We have 419,000 in Mesopotamia, including 179,000 Indian Army and 150,000 labour. We have 353,000 in Egypt all told, 216,000 at Salonika, and so on. This is one reason why we are not winning in France, and the greatest success in these subsidiary campaigns cannot alter the fate of the war. Our best soldiers are sure that we can win if we use our man-power, and believe that we can get 500,000 men from industries, 100,000 from the mines, and so forth, but the War Cabinet prevents them from acting. We are 114,000 down in France, and the lowest estimate of our waste next year is an average of 55,000 a month all round. The soldiers are keen for Compulsion in Ireland, but the question is being trifled with. The Prime Minister seems to me to have misjudged the situation all this year. We are feeding over a million men in the side-show theatres of war, and are letting down our strengths in France at a moment when all the Boche forces from Russia may come against us and after a campaign in which our men have had to fight double our own number of divisions. The P.M. is obsessed by the idea that it is a stalemate in France. He has his troubles with Labour no doubt, but never once has he told the country the truth of the military situation and asked for that generous response which the people would give him if they were told the risks which L. G. is running. To win in a secondary and lose in a principal theatre is sheer fatuity, but the War Cabinet is completely ignorant of strategy and the art of war, and will not listen to those who know. My difficulties are that Northcliffe has tied himself to L. G.'s chariot wheels. I am unable to get the support from the editor of the *Times* that I must have to rouse the country, and I do not think that I will be able to go on with him much longer. I had a talk with him today about the Lansdowne letter. He told me that he had discussed it with Lord L., and had pointed out the great objections to it. Lord L. had promised to sleep upon it, but must have sent it off at once to Lord Burnham. Dawson saw it in the train in the *D.T.*, and was astonished to find it there.

Saturday to Monday, Dec. 8-10. Colonel Fagalde lunched with me at the N. and M. Club. His chief purpose was to bring me over to the idea of an Allied *généralissime*, declaring that French opinion was greatly in favour of it, and that Clemenceau would not be able to stay long if he did not get it, as Briand, Viviani, Thomas, and all the rest of them were watching and waiting to upset him. I asked him plainly to give me the name of the general whom he had in mind, and he said Pétain. He went through all the arguments, and while I admitted that the *généralissime* was the logical consequence of an Allied Staff, and that Pétain was to my mind one of the greatest soldiers that the war had produced on the Allied side, I did not favour the plan, and, moreover, the Allied Staff had shrunk into insignificance since Foch's defection from it. But Fagalde wants the three or four chiefs of the General Staffs to be permanently and directly under the *généralissime* in Paris. I did not see how this would work, and asked what would happen if the *généralissime* decided upon making some use of our forces in Palestine or Mesopotamia or elsewhere against the opinion of our Chief of Staff and our Home Government. Fagalde said, logically enough, that the *généralissime* would proceed to *passer outre* and issue his orders, which would always be signed by him alone. I said that this would create intense friction at once. A *généralissime* was one thing, a single commander in France was another. We discussed the rights which a *généralissime* should possess, and I showed how impracticable it would be to give them to him, and suggested that the French were obsessed with the Napoleonic legend, forgetting that N. had a *tabula rasa* to work on after the Revolution, whereas now there were the old civilisations, governments, and so on, with no idea of abandoning their independent rights. In fact, I was sure that the thing would not work, and that, though the idea was logical, it was a case of the best being the enemy of the good. I thought that the Joffre plan had worked well, and that while unity of action had reigned so had harmony. I could not say so much for 1917 and all that had followed since

Calais. I valued harmony of relations more than anything else, and felt sure that the *généralissime* plan would not promote it, and that we should end by hating each other more than the common enemy. I said that Fagalde had only to study the history of Allied operations to realise their great dangers, and that the harmony of the present time was to my mind the most important thing of all.

Went off to Droxford and spent a pleasant week-end at Grenville with Miss Greenwood and her party. A good walk over the Downs on Sunday. Returned Monday in time to lunch with a friend at the N. and M. We had a good talk about the war, and he showed me the text of the Calais Conference Agreement, which I had never seen. It is preposterous and would have broken up the Government here had it been published. He was given it in Paris by a Frenchman so that he might support the scheme, but this he never did. He asked how I was allowed to publish my allusion to this incident. I said that I supposed that the Censor slept that day. We both thought that we were approaching the most difficult period of the war.

Tuesday, Dec. 11. Met Colonel Fagalde, who told me that Sarrail had been *dégommé* at last, and that Guillaumat would now command at Salonika. What could be done with Sarrail he did not know, but he might be made Governor of Paris, as the retirement of Dubail was in contemplation.

Dined with Lady Ridley in Tenterden Street; Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Garvin, and a few more there. We talked Ireland after dinner, but in the drawing-room later, when Lord Robert had gone, Garvin began to give vent to the usual unjust attacks upon our generals now so popular with L. G. and the Downing Street *Kindergarten*. At last I gave tongue, and we had a heated argument, neither of us, of course, convincing the other.

Wednesday, Dec. 12. I was unpleasantly surprised by the first leader in the *Times* to-day, suggesting an inquiry into the Cambrai set-back by somebody not concerned in the affair, or, in other words, a sort of trial of Haig at home. From the spacing of the article, the inflated and

pontifical style, I saw at once an official inspiration. In the evening, whether by arrangement or not, the subject of an inquiry was brought up in the H. of C. I am told that there was no feeling in the House at all in favour of an independent inquiry, but Bonar Law promised one. I wrote a letter to Dawson, pointing out that I entirely differed from him : that the surprise of one of our divisions in a fog was a case which could well be left to Haig, and that Press screams for inquiries when any little thing went wrong at the front would entail the absence of commanders from their troops, and would make the vigorous conduct of operations impracticable. He told me that I could not expect him to publish my letter. I certainly did expect it. I asked him whether I was entitled to ask him whether the leader was inspired, and he said that I was, but that he was not compelled to reply, an answer on which one could place one's own construction. An amusing instance of 'political strategy.' However, as the inquiry will be at G.H.Q. in France, no harm will now be done.

Thursday, Dec. 13. Wrote an article on the military situation. Lunched with Mr. Joynson Hicks and his wife at 15 St. James's Place. Sir W. Robertson there, and some M.P.'s, including Sir Gilbert Parker and his wife, Major Mildmay, and others. Hicks rather despondent about the Air Board and our output of engines. Robertson amusing about his visit to Clifton yesterday : the wife of the headmaster was such a stickler for rations that R. got scarcely any bread, meat, or biscuits, and was starved. We walked back to the W.O. together, and I told him the story of yesterday's 'political strategy,' which diverted us both much. R. now breakfasts with L. G. on Thursdays. He asked L. G. this morning what he thought he had got out of the capture of Jerusalem.

Friday, Dec. 14. Walked with Fagalde and told him the story of last Wednesday. We discussed the *généralissime* theory again, and I promised to write about it. There is temporary calm in most of the theatres of war. The

armistice negotiations on the Russian front recommenced yesterday. A good speech by L. G. at Gray's Inn to-day. It is a pity that his speeches and his actions can never scrape a bowing acquaintance.

Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 15 *and* 16. Laid up with a bad cold, but wrote an article on the question of the '*généralissime*,' contesting the French ideas on this subject. It appeared on Monday, Dec. 17, much bowdlerised, but still containing the main argument. I received the following interesting letter from Allenby, and answered it the same day—

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
24*th November.*

MY DEAR REPINGTON,—I was very interested in your letter of the 19th Oct., and am glad to have your review of the situation, and your opinion on things in France. Events have moved rapidly there in the last few days ; and I was delighted that my old Third Army had done a big thing under Bungo. Maude's death is a great loss ; but he had placed affairs in a satisfactory state of consolidation before he died. I am writing now, in my camp, about 9 miles N.E. of Askalon. The day is bright and clear; and I have before me the whole plain of Philistia, and the range of the Judæan mountains from end to end. I can see the buildings of the western outskirts of Jerusalem, on the top of the range, nearly 2000 feet above me. We are not there yet, though I stood two days ago within five miles of the Holy City at Kustul, on the top of the pass through which runs the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. I don't want to fight at Jerusalem ; and I am turning it, by the North, through the most abominable country —rocky and pathless mountains. There has been hard fighting round Nebi-Samwil, where is the tomb of the Prophet Samuel in a mosque. It is in our hands, and the Turks have shelled it a good deal. We have carefully refrained from doing so. My left is on the R. Auja, N. of Jaffa. I am running ahead of my railways, roads, and supplies; and if we get a lot of rain now, I shall have some trouble. My own railway is now just N. of Gaza, but can't catch me up for a long time yet.

The Turkish railway-gauge, 3′ 5½″, from Beit Hanan to the junction station W. of Jerusalem, is in fair order ; but I have only

captured three engines—sixty or seventy trucks. I hope to get two or three more engines, which will fit the gauge, from Egypt ; and this will help me a lot.

I gave Kress von Kressenstein a good beating. He is now putting up strong rearguard resistance, under Falkenhayn's direction. Falkenhayn was at Jerusalem, but I believe him to be now at Nablus.

I fixed the 31st October as my zero day. My preparations were then fairly complete, and the moon was full. On the 27th I began to bombard the defences of Gaza. On the 30th the Navy joined in on the rear defences and the bridges over the Wady el Hesy. Careful preparations had been made for their co-operation during the previous two months. My staff and the naval staff had been in close accord. The result was that their fire was effective, and their co-operation of great value. During the last week of October, mounted troops and R.E. worked to develop the water supply at Khalassa and Asluj, with a view to using those places as bases for my mounted troops, whence they could act on my right. Simultaneously, the standard gauge railway was pushed from Shellal towards Karm, and a light railway from Gamli towards El Buggar. On the 27th the Turks pushed a reconnaissance in force towards El Buggar, from the N.; employing some two thousand to three thousand infantry and one or two regiments of cavalry. Stout resistance of London Yeomanry kept the Turks at bay, until the arrival of Infantry; when the Turks retired. On the night of the 30th two mounted divisions started from Asluj and Khalassa, and marched to the N.E. of the Beersheba positions. Two divisions of infantry marched to positions in readiness opposite the S.W. defences between the Beersheba-Khalassa road and the Wady el Saba. One division moved up on their flank, N.E. of El Buggar, and one stayed in reserve near Shellal. One division of mounted troops watched the gap thence to the right of my Left Corps about Tel el Gemmi. At an early hour on the 31st the two divisions assaulted the S.W. defences of Beersheba, after an hour's bombardment, and took them. The mounted troops who had turned the defences from the N.E. pushed in towards the town. Fighting went on all day, and at nightfall Turks were still holding trenches in the eastern outskirts of the town. A regiment of Australian Light Horse charged these trenches, which were 8 feet deep and 4 feet wide ; galloped over two lines of them, and ended the

battle. The capture of Beersheba turned the whole system of the Turkish defences. Kress was taught again, as he had been taught before,—at Maghdaba and Rafa—that it is not safe to leave out an isolated detachment within reach of a mobile enemy. Chetwode was his schoolmaster on each of the three occasions. One division was at once sent up the hills to the N. of the town, and a mounted brigade up the Hebron road. The water in the area needed development; and this and the movement of troops into position for the next attack was a work of some days. Meanwhile, on the early morning of the 2nd, my left wing attacked Gaza—with a limited objective—and captured all the outer defences from Umbrella Hill on the Cairo road to Sheikh Hasan on the coast N.W. of the town. On the morning of the 6th, three divisions attacked the Kanwukah and Ruschdi systems of entrenchments, from W. of Beersheba; and took them, to a depth of eight or nine miles. Kress counter-attacked, fiercely, at Tel el Khuweilfeh; striking at my water base at Beersheba. One division here, as flank guard, made a gallant defence, with the Camel Brigade covering its right, on the Hebron road; and the Yeomanry Mounted Division on its left. Kress's attack failed; and he was beaten.

That night, the Left Corps attacked Gaza; and went through with but little opposition. Next day, Hareira redoubt was taken. A division, moving along the coast, reached the mouth of the Wady el Hesy, and a division went for Sheria. Since then, the enemy has been pressed incessantly; with every man, gun, and horse that could be set going. Transport and water have been my difficulties; but I have managed to keep the mounted troops always in contact with the Turks, and two divisions of infantry have kept pace with them. Throughout the infantry have fought and marched wonderfully. Falkenhayn came to Jerusalem and did his best to counter-attack, and to rally rear-guards. The Turks fought well but were always out-marched and out-fought. We estimate that they have lost, in all ways, some 30,000 men, including between 11,000 and 12,000 prisoners. We know of 80 guns captured, and many more have been thrown into dongas and ravines, or buried. The country is strewn with millions of rounds of small arm ammunition, and hundreds of thousands of shells. Moreover, I have neither men nor transport, as yet, to collect all the stuff. I am concerned with pushing up supplies. The Navy is putting supplies on shore for me along

the coast; but rough weather stops this; so it is a precarious form of supply at the best. We had one or two very hot days; and two days and nights of cold rain. Now, the weather is bright and clear; like winter in the high veldt in Natal. Gaza is a ruin. What houses are untouched by shell have been unroofed by the Turks for the sake of the timber. Jaffa is intact, but most of the inhabitants had been removed. The orange gardens and vineyards, thereabouts, are unhurt. In that neighbourhood are many Jewish colonies; and they are, to all appearance, still in a flourishing condition. They grow vines, peaches, oranges, and all sorts of agricultural produce. Some are friendly; some are pro-Boche, as is natural, seeing that many are German Jews. The Turks took many horses and oxen from them, but seem to have left plenty of cows, sheep, and goats. I think that a great amount of their food supplies have been cleverly hidden. The Turk seems to be rallying on the Tul Keran–Nablus line, where he is entrenching. The people we are fighting in the mountains are a rearguard, or rather a flank guard to the troops evacuating Jerusalem. My mounted troops have had great scope; and have made some very useful charges—well-timed and effective. They have lost some good leaders—including Neil Primrose, Evelyn Rothschild, and Pirie—but they are full of heart.—Yours sincerely, (Signed) EDMUND N. ALLENBY.

P.S.—I have been in close touch with Wingate, all the time I have been out here, and he is a great help. The 10th Division have had a big sick list, from fever; but I have been able to give them a fairly easy time, and they are mending. Bulfin and Chetwode have both done well; and my divisions are well commanded. My mounted troops have done all that I wanted from them, and have been well led. (Signed) E. N. A.

Monday, Dec. 17. News comes of the destruction of another convoy in the North Sea. Practically the same thing that happened two months ago, and a bad affair.

Tuesday, Dec. 18, *to Saturday, Dec.* 22. Bad weather, cold and snow. Owing to difficulty of getting about I am refusing nearly all invitations. Taxis few: buses full: tubes liable to be blocked with people taking refuge on an air-raid night. The Boches came Tuesday night when the moon was very young. They arrived in relays from 6.30 P.M.,

and firing went on until 9 P.M. About ten people killed and seventy wounded. One bomb fell outside the courtyard of the Russian Embassy. Busy with my review of the past year of war for the *Times*. Called in one day to have a talk with Cox, of the Intelligence, who knows much of the German dispositions. He tells me that 21 German divisions have moved East to West in the past three months since Sept. 1. But 12 have moved West to East in the same time. Also 5 have moved from the East to Italy, and 3 from the West to Italy. So there is only an increase of 6 in the West on balance. As to the future, he reckons that with all possible skinning, Germany may send 38 divisions more from East to West, but more probably only 30, and he counts the German divisions now to be between 15,000 and 16,000 all ranks, excluding field depots and communication troops. So we may expect from 500,000 to 600,000 more Boches in the West, but no more. He is also inclined to limit the number of Austrian divisions that may come West to 10 in number, and he admits Alsace as a likely theatre. He puts down 12 divisions of Boches to be able to come West per month. Maurice and Cox both think that 6 divisions besides about 100,000 Boche drafts have come West during the past three months. Cox and I are inclined to agree with the *North German Gazette*, that the attack on Italy may be hung up till the spring, when the enemy would rather have the Italians on the Piave than on the Adige. Till then the enemy may prefer to hold the Italians between the pincers, ready to be nipped when the moment comes. Maurice thinks that the Trentino is not a good jumping-off place in the winter for large Armies which want so much in these days, and I agree.

Lloyd George on Thursday made a speech in the House before it rose.

Sunday to Sunday, Dec. 23 *to* 30. A quiet week during which I have remained at home and almost finished the first volume of my *Memoirs*. Things have been fairly quiet on all fronts, but Admiral Jellicoe has been retired from the position of First Sea Lord this week and Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss

put in his place. I met at lunch on Thursday, 27th, F.M. Lord French, Sir William Pulteney and his bride, and Sir Arthur Paget. Putty's account of Cambrai is not cheering. The Boches, to the number of 6 divisions, came on in massed formations like a steam plough, and burst in. The 55th Division gave way, and then the 20th and 12th, and the Boches reached our guns and took most of them; but the Guards counter-attacked successfully, many guns were retaken, and things more or less re-established. Putty says that the chief defence was made by small groups of old soldiers, including gunners and oddments, and that the Boche did not know what to do when he had burst in. Putty says that the divisions had enough machine guns to mow down the enemy as he was mown down at Mœvres, but he thinks that our officers have become so bad that the Army is not worth 50 per cent. of what it was in 1914, which is not good hearing at all when we look like being attacked in force in February or March. Lord French and A. P. very vexed because Wemyss seems to have guaranteed the safety of England against oversea attack by anything over 30,000 men, and the War Cabinet is using this to impoverish Home Defence, which is being greatly reduced. French says that they seem to look upon war as if it were a game, and that he has told the War Cabinet again that he refuses to be responsible, though he still tells them that he would do as they do in their place. A. P. says that he has now only cripples on the beach and that there will be nothing behind them. The A4 men are to strengthen the beach crowd, and the lower categories to go to munitions to replace the young men to be combed out from there. The Southern Army will exist no longer.

I lunched with Sir W. Robertson on Friday, 28th, and we had a good talk. He is decidedly anxious about the outlook, and particularly fears that the Versailles War Council will begin to hurry troops about directly the Boches make their first feints, regardless of time and space, and that the soldiers will not be allowed to manage matters. He has seen Haig, and Haig will see Pétain

and have all the plans ready for mutual support. We are all digging in and wiring up hard, though very late, in anticipation of a big attack, the principle now being that we are to fight a defensive campaign for some months. He does not know whether Foch will take a hand with him and Haig and Pétain, but he has sent to inquire. Foch may have views about Versailles and may wish to direct the war, but we shall see. Meanwhile R.'s plan is to have everything settled in advance so that any wild schemes propounded may be brought to naught. R. is critical of our leading engineers, who have not distinguished themselves in this war, while the German sappers have. I said that I heard that G.H.Q. in France did not send its own officers often enough [1] round the fronts to check things and see for themselves. I reminded him of Moltke's *missi dominici*, and of Napoleon's practice, and thought that though the system was not popular, it was valuable if carried out tactfully, and R. says that he will see what can be done to initiate it. I told him that I heard from regimental officers that our lines about Poelcapelle were very bad indeed, and with no proper defences. Bertie Lawrence has replaced Charteris—a good man and should do well. R. says that our generals have been so busy with the offensive all the year that they have not studied the defensive, and that there is only the short bit of front from Armentières to Lens that is the same as it was in June 1916. Consequently the new sectors are not defended as the Boche lines, occupied for three years, are defended; and on the territory evacuated and ravaged by the Boches everything has had to be created—roads, railways, magazines, and even quarters. But things will now go forward briskly. R. says that the Italians are nearly as strong as the enemy in their front now and may be able to hold the bad line where they are standing. But he says that their tactics are bad, and that they get their

[1] This criticism was probably due to the fact that owing to the conditions of trench warfare, comparatively few saw the Staff officers when they were inspecting the front lines, as they constantly did.

infantry massacred and do not understand the co-operation between infantry and guns. It is more that than courage that they lack. R. thinks that we cannot spare any more divisions for Italy, and that Diaz ought to be told to pan out with what he has. R. has had to tell Haig that few drafts can now be sent to him.

R. says that Jellicoe has been dismissed for the same reason that he, R., soon would be. Jellicoe was a pessimist, but had been always right, for instance when he had told L. G. that the output of ships could not possibly amount to the figure which had been given. Jellicoe was always pouring cold water on L. G.'s fervent imagination and bringing him down to the earth, and L. G. did not like it. The Americans had also let us down about ships. They had promised 6,000,000 tons, but there had been a confusion between gross tons, net tons, and dead weight capacity, and the figure given had been gross weight capacity and not net tons, the three figures—dead weight, gross tonnage, and net tonnage—standing in the proportion of 8, 5, and 3 for the particular ships designed. So the 6,000,000 tons came down to 2,000,000 ! A nice mistake to make on such a vital subject !

The Americans were coming along very slowly. R. had just seen Leonard Wood, who is here and says that there are not 150,000 men in France yet, and that not more than 25,000 are arriving per month, which is a great disappointment and not half of the figure that Joffre promised me. Perhaps he, too, was misled about the transport figures. Tom Bridges's figures have, however, proved correct. R. also says that the Americans are not getting their rifles and guns as they expected, and that they had made the great mistake of not using our plant in America, which could have supplied 8000 rifles in the time now taken by the U.S. to make 600. Also, we had now to make the 6-inch howitzers for the Americans, and R. did not know how the field gun question stood.

An account of the War Cabinet after an air raid made us all nearly die of laughter. After every little raid on London,

the whole War Cabinet, shaking in its shoes after the bombing, assembles with all the Ministers, Lord French, General Shaw, and the Air Board people and makes the devil of a fuss for two hours trying to find a scapegoat. Then French says that he has not been given the aeroplanes promised, which is true. Then the War Office is abused, and *they* show that they have not got them. Then they are ordered back from France, and then comes a set-back in the air in France, and the machines are sent back again, whereupon follows a new raid on London, and all the thing begins again. The Boche would burst with laughing if he knew what fools he was making of us, and all the time there are a hundred raids on our men in France for one here. Moral—always bomb the seat of Government when you can.

Joined a party who talked of Press manipulations. There is a question whether Allenby is to go on. There is a party in Cabinet that wants to 'knock out the Turk,' and so there may be an advance, but we have to go a long way before we arrive at territory which at all interests the Turk, and meantime, what will happen in France? But time and space were things unconsidered by the *Kindergarten*. We all agreed that the Turk and Bulgar were deadly sick of war, which they had been carrying on for five years, and that if we left them alone they would leave us alone.

The Mission to Paris of Milner and Bob Cecil is, I hear, to discuss how the anti-Bolshevists in South Russia can be aided by us without risk to our relations with the Bolshevists; in fact, to see how we can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. It ought to be quite easy for this War Cabinet.

A soldier friend writes as critical a letter about our defences on the Cambrai front as another one does about those on the Poelcapelle side. There is no doubt that our defences are still very incomplete. The 55th Division was holding a front of 10,000 yards when it was broken.

I saw Fagalde before he went to France, and begged him to bring back a clear idea of what Clemenceau, Pétain, and Foch want to do about the Versailles soldiers and the future command in the West. Fagalde quite understands, and I said that I wanted to know the French views in order to support them if I could, and that I did not know at this moment what their ideas were after all the recent incidents.

Saw Jack Cowans, who says that Plumer is indenting for all kinds of strange new things for Alpine warfare, of which the W.O. have not even samples, and that it will take three months to have any one of them ready. Plumer is at Padua with one Corps, the other is on the Piave on the Montello. I said that I doubted whether Plumer would ever get on to the Alps.

Sammy Scott and I walked back together from the W.O. to lunch at my club. Crowe, who is now liaison officer in Italy, came and told us a few things about the situation there ; neither very good nor very bad. He also says that the Italians are fighting well enough, but cram too many troops into their front lines. Sam has seen Hamilton, who has told him more about the retreat : he says that the —— lost seventeen batteries, and have never owned to it. Sammy would not admit that Home Defence was as bad as I thought it. He was very flattering about his chief, Derby. The W.O. continues to be a happy family and holds together. I would not accept an invitation for to-night even to see Lily Elsie's return to the stage. Perry Robinson sends a charming letter about an article of mine in yesterday's *Times*. We hear that three destroyers have been lost off the Dutch coast. Lady Clifford asks me to Devonshire. Too far.

Monday, Dec. 31. Lunched with Sir W. and Lady Pulteney at the Ritz. A good many people lunching there. Putty and I told stories of our youthful days from Eton onward. Had a talk with him alone afterwards. He does not think that the Boches can beat us in France, but admits that the battalions are very weak. He thinks

that the Boches may retake Welsh Ridge and Highland Ridge at Cambrai, as they are salients. Bits of them were bitten off yesterday. He has had 50 divisions through his hands in the 3rd Army Corps since the war began. He does not think that the G.H.Q. come often enough round the fronts, but at Cambrai a number turned up, including X., and Putty told him that he must be unwell. Putty is all for the West, but thinks we must wait a bit to see whether the Boches are going to strike at us in the East, now that their hands are more free.

I had some talk with General Hull afterwards. He says that the order in which he would put our needs are, first, barbed wire obstacles, next machine guns, and trenches only third, as they can be destroyed at any time. He wants the wire to be in three rows, each five yards broad as a minimum, and the more wire the better. He admits that our defences are most defective, and that battalions are very weak, and second and third lines of defence greatly neglected. He thinks that the divisional commanders are the most important people in the Army, but that Army Corps and Army commanders should supervise more, and see that things are properly done. It is agreed that the Boche sappers have done much better than ours. Putty puts it down to the fact that sappers are such slaves to authority, that unless a thing comes from the top, it often does not come at all.

I also met General Kavanagh, commanding the Cavalry Corps in France, whom I had not met before all through the war. The cavalry are in good order and have plenty of machine guns and Hotchkiss automatic rifles, which are most useful. The Indian cavalry are the survival of the fittest, and very good indeed. He had all five divisions ready at Cambrai, but one was taken from him by G.H.Q. and given to the 4th Army Corps very late, and this lost precious hours, and they struck too late owing to contradictory orders, while others were held up by a canal. It was a near thing that the cavalry did not break through completely. The Boche infantry surrendered

freely to our cavalry, and K. thinks that with the present type of troops the cavalry may be able to do wonders. Hull thinks that we want pompoms firing armour-piercing shells, in case the Boches produce Tanks, and he wants two pompoms per machine-gun company. Kavanagh says that he has neither seen nor heard of Boche cavalry since Menin days in 1914, but they may now turn up from the Eastern front.

There is an unconfirmed report to-night that L. G. is going to Paris to discuss with Clemenceau a reply which may be sent to the German peace offer to Russia, which suggests that the Allies should join in a peace.

The end of a dramatic year. The crumbling of Russia, the Italian defeats, the U-boat successes, and the slow advent of the Americans have all been serious for us, and if the war goes on we shall have a hard time. The Germans are suffering greatly, while we are only grumbling, and are short of butter, bread, meat, and sugar, largely owing to bad management, but it is only an affair of grumbling and not of serious hardship yet. The real point of danger is the War Cabinet, which is without the courage to face the music of facts.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ARMY STARVED FOR MEN, JANUARY 1918

The Lamingtons and the deaf—Trade Union and woman labour—Northcliffe's Viscountcy—Irish coast watched by Sinn Feiners—German movement West—German losses in 1917—The War Cabinet hopeless—Reason why the Home Defence standard was lowered—Fallacious arguments—Sir Arthur Paget's opinion—Talk with F.M. Sir Douglas Haig at Eastcott—He is 114,000 infantry under strength—We must either make war or peace—Mr. Lloyd George's treatment of Sir D. Haig—Our position described—Reasons for food shortage—Questions to be discussed at the next Allied War Council—The Versailles military Committee wish to transfer our main effort to Turkey—Supposed plans—Wild Eastern schemes—Haig compelled to take over more front—The War Cabinet stint men, and our divisions have to be reduced—The situation in Southern Russia—An inspection of our S.E. coast defences—Richborough—I resign my position on the *Times*—Admiral Lord Jellicoe on invasion—His treatment and dismissal.

Wednesday, Jan. 2. Lunched with Lord and Lady Lamington at 17 Chester Street. Their house in Wilton Crescent is given up to training the deaf, but the Government is throwing every obstacle in their way and declaring that they will not brook any competition, although they are not doing, and cannot do, the work themselves. L. gave me another example of the futility of the Government. Mr. Firminger had trained 80 women to take the place of 80 men in his steel works. When the time came for the women to begin work, the Union stepped in and refused permission. L. tells me how Northcliffe's Viscountcy is generally regarded. I am certainly left almost alone to fight the case of the Army for men. It is a public misfortune that the Northcliffe Press does not support me. Only the *Morning Post* and *Globe* are playing the game by the Army.

Thursday, Jan. 3. Had a talk with Lord Derby at the W.O. in the afternoon. He is deeply concerned about getting the men we need, and does not see them coming. I criticised L. G. and the War Cabinet severely. I told him that I rarely came to see him (Derby) because he had made the W.O. a happy family, and that all was going well, but that when it was not, I should begin worrying him. He does not know that any one will be *dégommé* over Cambrai. He asked me how to acknowledge the work of our leading soldiers and of Haldane in organising our forces before the war. I suggested an arranged question in the Lords, and he asked me to draft one and to suggest a Peer to ask it.[1]

Friday, Jan. 4. Had tea with Lady Juliet, who is looking well. A pleasant talk. We lament that the war allows us no time to read books, but agree that it is a joy to dip into some classic now and then. She is dipping into Froissart and Voltaire just now. We suppose that ten years hence we shall all have to live on what we can earn. She is going to be a typist and to teach French, also Russian to those who do not understand it. Hacket Pain came to see me before he went back to his command in Ulster. He thinks that Ulster has not changed at all, also that the higher R.C. priesthood are against Home Rule. He has 24,000 men and is all for Conscription if applied to all Ireland. He says that there is no real touch between the Army and Navy in Ireland. He was inspecting at Lough Swilly when a convoy of 30 ships put out. They were attacked by submarines and lost two ; the rest scattered. He finds that the Navy coast watchers are Sinn Feiners ! All the Ulster Volunteers have their rifles still, and he is redistributing them to guard against a Sinn Fein raid. The Ulstermen know that all is well while he remains in command, and so keep quiet. General Richardson is still in command of the U.V.F.

An interesting dinner at Claridge's with a well-known man. We began on politics, and he said that L. G. was a bit shaky as Labour did not love him, the old Liberals were waiting for his blood, and many Conservatives distrusted him. So his

[1] On consideration I did not do so.

safest course was to do nothing drastic, and this would deter him from taking the bold course of asking for the men needed. The best thing would be for Labour to refuse to march until Ireland was conscripted. In the West the Boche had now 157 divisions and were arriving at the rate of 8 per month, or the equivalent in drafts. At the earliest they might be ready to strike by the middle of February. We had 64 divisions, the French 99, the Belgians 8, the Americans 4, and the Portuguese 2; total 177. He thought that the Boche figure would soon be 195 divisions, and it might be necessary for them to strike soon. They had withdrawn some of their divisions from Italy, and looked like withdrawing all. One had been located in France, and probably two others. The Boche heavy artillery would be superior. He did not think, however, that the Boche gunners could fire more shells than they had last year, but the larger number of their guns would be an advantage to them. On the other hand, the Boche guns were much worn, and we were steadily replacing our worn guns by new. Haig would have 3000 new field guns. We were hard at work digging and wiring, and though we had not time to make such elaborate fortifications as the Boches had made, we ought to be fairly safe. The Boche losses in 1917 have been carefully estimated in London, by our G.H.Q., and by the French. The total came to 1,800,000 according to London, to 1,900,000 according to G.H.Q., and to 2,220,000 according to the French calculation. The Boche *net* loss is estimated at 500,000 for the year. Though we had done most of the fighting, our total casualties were 780,000 for the year and the French 700,000. The Boches have ceased publishing their casualty lists, but as we have three years of their figures, we can form a pretty correct estimate. We are said to want only 650,000 drafts for 1918, perhaps on the assumption that we shall be on the defensive most of the time. He told me that the G.S. had asked for 2,000,000 men last January and for 15 new divisions. They have not asked for new divisions now because they did not see

their way to maintenance, and still less to increase, but I hoped that they might repeat their demands or it would be thrown in their teeth that they had not, if anything went wrong later.

He thought the War Cabinet quite hopeless. They could not understand the simplest things, but the French Ministers, brought up among military surroundings, were much quicker in the uptake. L. G. was still all for the East. He had asked when Allenby would get to Aleppo. It was 370 miles from Jerusalem, and our railway could only go half a mile a day. Granet and others had gone into the question whether it was best to prolong our broad-gauge line or to build rolling stock for the Turkish line, and had decided for the first course. L. G. had asked that Allenby should take Dan, no doubt in order to say to his Welsh revivalists that he had taken the Holy Land from Dan to Beersheba. In spite of all warnings and shortage of tonnage the War Cabinet were still pressing on the Eastern campaigns. We had lost two ships carrying drafts to the East this week, but fortunately the men were all saved. It was impossible to make the War Cabinet understand strategy or to realise that the G.S. views were not personal idiosyncrasies, but conclusions drawn impersonally from experience. In politics it was different, and personalities all had their relative values. The War Cabinet was L. G. All the rest said ditto to him, or concealed their differences if they did not. They frankly admitted that they wanted to have a second military opinion, and this is why they set up the Versailles body, which was out of touch with policy, intelligence, and the fighting Armies, and could give no opinion of value. The Versailles soldiers had sent in a few memoranda, mostly general principles, such as two and two make four, and of no actual value in forming plans. But the Cabinet were as pleased as Punch with their offspring, and thought it wonderful.

Meantime Haig and Pétain had come to an agreement. Each had allocated an identical proportion of their forces as a general reserve, and the Staffs were working out the train-marches of these troops so that Haig might help Pétain, and

vice versa. But if both were attacked, it might be difficult, and many people were for a single commander, in principle, though all saw the political objections to it. There was a danger of our reserves being rushed about needlessly, for example, if Italy began to squeal. People doubt that Austria wants to go on or to send troops to France, but she may send some guns. She has not yet withdrawn a single division from the Rumanian front. It is not surprising that the Germans are withdrawing Von Below's Army from Italy, as it must be hard to maintain it in the mountains. It takes long also to equip a division for mountain warfare. We are going to equip two in this way, and it will take us three months. The Boches have only the one Alpine Corps, and it is really only a division.

America was coming on very slowly. The 4th Division was only now arriving in France where the numbers were not over 140,000. Most Americans believed that they had over half a million men in France, and would be very disgusted when they learnt the truth. The U.S. Parliamentary Committees were beginning to examine things, and all the faults would come out. The Americans were not using their merchant ships sufficiently, and were leaving too many at their normal commercial work. Also, the American decision not to use our plant in America for turning out our rifles, 8-inch and 9·2-inch guns, etc., had proved disastrous, and America had not yet turned out a single heavy gun as she had neither the tools nor the workmen. She had been bluffed by M. Thomas into accepting French guns and so had not accepted our field guns and had also chosen the French calibre of 9·5-inch instead of our 9·2-inch, and so all new plant for it had to be made in America and was not yet ready. We only expect six divisions to be in France by the middle of February, but hope that arrivals will soon be speeded up.

Guillaumat had reached Salonika, and had reported the British and Italian troops to be good and well found and the French troops to be the reverse. This is what we have been saying all along. There seems no hope of withdrawing more of our divisions now that we have the

new Greeks and the Serbs on our backs. It is thought that in case of a serious attack we could withdraw to the Larissa (Thermopylae) line and hold it. We could get our troops back there, but might lose some of our magazines and dumps.

Allenby was doing well. His strategy, both in the original advance and in the last affair, had been bold and original. His thrusts with his left had been excellent. In this last affair the German 'Tigris Ein' division had taken part, and 250 prisoners from it had been captured. 'Tigris Zwei' was on its way to help. Allenby will see that my instinct was correct when I wrote and told him that this would happen, after he had written to say he thought that they would go to Mesopotamia. But they came too late. The total fighting strength of the enemy is placed at 50,000, and Allenby's at 85,000, so he is sure to be all right. I think it possible that the enemy may not know Allenby's fighting strength. It is thought that the G.S. hope in time to draw Indian troops from Mesopotamia and to make up Allenby's force into an Anglo-Indian Army. This will be practicable because Monro has done so well in raising new troops. Then it will be possible to withdraw many white battalions from Palestine to France. A good scheme I think.

We then talked of the new Home Defence scale. I was assured that we have had 138,000 men on the coast, and 150,000 mobile reserve all told. The Dominion reserves here, and the normally 75,000 leave-men from France, were all so well looked after that they could be drawn upon, if necessary, immediately. The leave-men would go to the depots and act as Lord French's first reserves. He could have 280,000 men in 48 hours. What had now been done had been to reduce 50,000 men of the mobile reserve. I must try to get the exact figures.

The reason why the scale of defence had been lowered was as follows:

The sailors have been asked certain questions. Can we be sure of hearing if a convoy carrying certain troops

for invasion leaves the German coasts ? The sailors answer : Yes, when the convoy is drawn out to sea and marshalled.

Second question : What may be the size of a manageable convoy, of what tonnage, and how many troops can it take with ammunition and ten days' supplies of all sorts ?

Answer : Not more than 30 ships can be handled in one convoy, of 4000 tons each on an average, and the whole might carry 30,000 men.

Third question : Can the sailors insure the interception of this convoy and the prevention of a landing ?

Answer : No.

Fourth question : Can the sailors intercept a second convoy of the same size ?

Answer : Yes.

Fifth question : How soon can the Grand Fleet effectively intervene ?

Answer : In 32 hours from the receipt of the warning.

It is apparently owing to these naval assurances that the standard of security, which Lord Roberts, Lord Lovat, Sir Samuel Scott, and I forced upon the Defence Committee in 1907, has been lowered. But we are not asked to admit that this implies an alteration of the old 70,000 scale in normal times. The change is thought justified because the Navy is all mobilised and at its war stations ; because much of the waters of the German coasts and ours is mined ; and because we have the men already on the beach and deeply dug in, with plenty of machine guns. I am assured that no Government hereafter would be so mad as to fail to see the difference between this situation and normal conditions. Would they not ? I wonder ! Admiral Wemyss is defending the 30,000 scale particularly against Jellicoe, who has represented and criticised all the dubious points in the argument, and it was partly because Jellicoe would not accept the new standard that he was dismissed.

It is honourable of Jellicoe to have stood his ground. I am dubious whether we have so many troops available at home as my friend declares, because Lord French and

his commanders have always given me much smaller figures. As for the naval assurances, I said that they hypothecated, as certain, things which were in my opinion distinctly uncertain. I thought that our submarine watchers off the German coast might be driven away and that warning was uncertain ; that the limitation by our sailors of the number of ships and their tonnage was purely arbitrary, and did not correspond with anything I knew, either with regard to ships available in Germany or tonnage required per man ; that the interception of a second convoy depended on the result of the meeting of the two fighting fleets, which was also uncertain ; and that, finally, as I had Beatty's definite statement that he refused to be bound by any undertaking as to time and place for the intervention of the Grand Fleet, I was not prepared to accept anybody else's assurances on the subject. Apparently the Germans are not to be permitted to use all their great fast ships and liners, but only to use those which suit our lowered standard of security. We might just as well hypothecate a German Army composed exclusively of Landsturm.

A letter which I found from a distinguished naval officer on my return home did not cause me to feel much happier about the changes at the Admiralty.

Saturday, Jan. 5. Went down to dine quietly at Coombe with Sir A. Paget and to talk Home Defence. I told him the figures that I had been given, and he told me that in his opinion they were valueless unless it were understood that the men lining the beach were cripples, all B and C men, and that the mobile reserve behind were largely boys of 18 to 19, very keen good boys, but impressionable and partially trained, with bad officers. He had been told that Lord French could not bring up his reserve till the third day, and Sir A. thought that if a convoy with 30,000 men could reach the coast of Kent they could land under cover of smoke-screens and their ship's fire in boats with steel shields which would be proof against machine gun and rifle fire : 30,000 Boches would be in Maidstone by the third day, and he had no confidence that he could stop them.

Many of his men on the beach had long fronts to defend and held them very thinly. His cyclists, on which he relied as first reinforcements, were being taken away for Ireland, and three out of his four divisions behind were to be scrapped to make up the horrible deficits of the Army in France. He had represented it all a dozen times, and we both thought Lord French to be unduly optimistic, and did not agree with his practice of telling the War Cabinet that he would run the same risks that they were doing. This course panders to their cowardice in not asking for men.

Sunday, Jan. 6. Walked round to see F.M. Sir Douglas Haig at Eastcott. He is home on ten days' leave, and, in reply to a letter of mine, had wired to ask me to see him. He began at once about the failure to maintain and increase the Army in France. He had been short all the year, and never less any month than 70,000 infantry, except on an occasion when he had combed out 35,000 men from his rearward service. He was now 114,000 infantry down, and this represented between one-sixth and one-seventh of his rifle strength. He has not seen the A.G. since he came over, but believes that there are few drafts in sight, and declares that though the continuation of the Flanders offensive is the best way he knows of attracting and using up the Boches, he cannot go on with it if he is not adequately supplied with drafts. He has fixed up matters with Pétain about mutual support, and he has now 22 divisions in reserve, or about one-third of his forces, while Pétain, who has only 99 divisions, now has rather more in reserve in proportion. He expects a Boche offensive by sea and land, and probably an attack on land in two or three places.

He told me that Kiggell was leaving him, as the doctors, including Dr. Herringham, had reported that he was suffering from nervous exhaustion due to strain, and, though there was nothing organically wrong with him, he needed rest. H. was sorry to lose him, as he was so sound, honest, and hard-working. H. means to take Lawrence in his place. He had intended X. to succeed Kiggell,

but had found that he was not favourably considered. Haig thinks that in the difficult times ahead Lawrence's comparative youth and activity may prove valuable.

The F.M. was very critical of our conduct of the war, saying that we should either make war or make peace. L. G. has been to see him when he, L. G., was being criticised, and had practically accused him of inciting journalists against the Government. This accusation he had vehemently repudiated. He had asked the P.M. to name one journalist incited. The P.M. named S., whereupon Haig said that he would write to him, but the P.M. begged him not to do so. L. G. threatened a counter-offensive, and asked Haig what he would say if he, L. G., described Haig's offensive as useless slaughter when he spoke at the Guildhall, and if he said that the men had been smothered in mud and blood. Haig answered that he would consider such a speech to be highly unpatriotic, and then went on to tell me that the spirit of an Army was a delicate plant, and would not remain uninfluenced at last by the constant attacks against its leaders. He said that if L. G. did not like his, Haig's, leading he should remove him.

The F.M. asked me what I thought the Boche would do. I said I supposed that he would attack as Haig had sketched out, but that the concentration in the West was, after all, natural, and might fit in with an intention to stand in a strong attitude if peace negotiations began, as the civilian element in Germany obviously desired. H. is due to appear before the War Cabinet to-morrow, and asked me what they were thinking and whether they were much alarmed about the position. I said that I thought that they were sufficiently alarmed, and that L. G.'s speech yesterday to the Labour Unions, with the throwing over of Russia and the closer approach to the Boche peace ideas, showed it. But I said that if we alarmed them too much we should get a weak compromise peace and all would have to be begun again later. After all, we had as many Boche divisions against us last spring, when we were taking the offensive, as we had now, though how many more there were to come up was another matter.

I asked about Cambrai. He thought that our men had had such an easy time in smashing through, that they had become careless. They sent out patrols in the morning, but when these came in the men were at breakfast and were surprised to some extent, and three divisions had given way. He did not blame any of his commanders. He, Haig, considered himself responsible for the British front, and though he would send Pétain all the troops he could spare were Pétain hard pressed, he was bound to make his own front safe. This would have been the same when Nivelle was practically put over him, had the latter tried to impound too many of his troops. He thought that the Boches would this year bring up a superiority of guns, and that our men might have to stand the hammering that we gave the Boches in 1916 and 1917. But he had confidence in our artillery, which was good, and we expected to have 1000 more aeroplanes than the Boches, while the French promised to have 5000 in all, and he thought that they might have 4000. The Armies were entrenching hard, but all our new ground, and especially the devastated area, required a lot of labour.

We agreed as to the origin of the whole fictitious feeling manufactured against the soldiers. Haig said that he only regarded the P.M. as *x*, and did not care who he was, so long as he was a white man and had no axe to grind, and no political game to play. He thought that old Clemenceau had been quite splendid. Haig got on admirably with Pétain. H. expects only 25 more Boche divisions to come West. He meant to hold his lines weakly, but they would be strong in themselves.

He wants the Americans to come to us, and he wishes gradually to build up American divisions under our wing and instructions. He thought that the Americans were not training their Staffs. Pershing had made one Corps Staff, but had placed 6 divisions in it, and Haig thought this too much, as a Corps of 2 divisions was quite enough for a Corps Staff to handle. Haig would like to make good our deficit with American recruits, but I thought

this dangerous, as if anything went wrong it might cause the old American antagonism against England to revive, and we were bound to prevent this from happening.

Haig thought that the worst of our position in France was that it lacked depth, and we could not afford to go back in several sectors, while the French could retreat without inconvenience. I spoke about Robertson and all his splendid work here. Haig acknowledged it and said he and R. were on the best of terms, and that he thought that it would be disastrous were R. to be replaced. The F.M. looked very fit and well.

Lunched with Sir Arthur, his sister, and Colonel Stuart. The latter is back from commanding a district in the south of the Soudan. All is quiet there and in Egypt. Harvey Pasha is home, disgusted with the exposure of his chief secret-service agent, who has got seven years, and his wife two, for taking bribes from rich men to let them off arrest for crimes.

Returned to London and played a rubber or two with the Grand Duke Michael and Countess Torby, Lady Mar, and Lady Paget. The Countess fuming about the supposed action of Buchanan in setting the Revolution going. They were both, also, very cross because the Army Council had been unable to get their boy a commission unless he became a British subject. I thought that I had arranged the matter with Joey Davies, but it seems that there is a political difficulty, and the King, they say, is furious about it. Lady Mar looking very well and bonny.

Monday, Jan. 7. Spent the morning reading Sir Douglas Haig's Despatch of Dec. 25. A remarkable paper, very clear and good, and conveying an excellent *résumé* of these lengthy operations. Particularly illuminating on the subject of plans and drafts. Lunched with Belle Herbert and Colonel Sir Douglas Dawson. Afterwards saw Lord French and had a talk with him about his troops and invasion. He wants 500,000 men to make the country safe, which is near Lord K.'s figure of 600,000, but has only four divisions left besides the troops on the beach. He

is also critical of the quality of men and officers. He considers that the new naval standard is absurd, and says that Wemyss and Co. remind him of children playing a game.

Lady Ridley writes from Blagdon, that she considers L. G.'s speech a bid for peace negotiations, and thinks that he must have failed to move Labour in the combing-out question. Also, she thinks that he has a panic about the food shortage. Lady R. says that the sudden meat failure is an unnecessary disaster, and entirely caused by Government mismanagement. She says that her agent and the farmers are foaming at the mouth. The Government accepted all risks to fix a low price for wheat in August last: their 60s. entirely stopped production; had they made it 75s. all would have been well. It is the same with the cattle; all that time there were more beasts in the country than ever before, but since the fixing of maximum prices, there has been wholesale slaughtering. She thinks the Government mad, and that it is supply that matters and not price. She thinks that the people will stop the war if they are not fed, and says that 20,000 inhabitants of a mining village near her had only six beasts last week.

Wednesday, Jan. 9. President Wilson's speech was much discussed when I lunched to-day with Mr. and Mrs. McKenna, Nabokoff, and Bardac at Lady Paget's. Then we turned on to the Press, and I made some strong comments on the way that L. G. had nobbled it and chloroformed public opinion. McK. thought that it would take an interminable time without victory to arrange a peace upon the President's terms, or L. G.'s. Nabokoff very keen for us to assist Southern Russia, but could not tell us how to get there.

Later I met a distinguished Frenchman from Paris, and he told me things which gave me great concern. I passed them on to the quarter interested, and the Frenchman and I agreed to meet to-morrow. A friend and I discussed Home Defence. He assures me that before the recent changes, which will diminish our forces by four divisions at

home, we had 199,000 mobile troops available for the whole of Great Britain, and 166,000 for Coast Defence. Including other services, there were 410,000 available for Home Defence, the balance including anti-aircraft troops, etc. The new change would reduce the mobile troops to 140,000, and the total to 351,000. This may be right or wrong, but even if right it is 250,000 less than the figure which Lords Roberts and Kitchener stipulated for Home Defence, and the quality of our Home defenders is very poor.

Dined with Lady Juliet Duff and Mrs. Astor at 16 Upper Brook Street. A very pleasant dinner with these two delightful ladies, and we had a great talk about men and women. Juliet had read my Diary of my last French visit and had been delighted with it, and wanted to read more. Another man came in, and then we had some Bridge till Lady Cunard came in, when we chatted again.

Thursday, Jan. 10. The Frenchman and I continued our interrupted conversation. He said that two great questions were going to be raised at the next Allied War Council, namely, the plan for 1918—not yet settled!—and the question of unity of command. The Versailles soldiers, Foch, Cadorna, and Wilson, appear to have settled it among themselves that we are to transfer our main effort to Turkey this winter and to stand on the defensive in France. They have sent in a paper in this sense. My French friend supposes that both Robertson and Pétain, as well as Haig, will oppose this mad scheme, and I trust they will; but my friend says that if Policy points out Turkey to Strategy as a ripe fruit which Strategy must cull, it could not refuse.

I demurred, and said that Strategy was not a slave, and had to be consulted. How was the new campaign to be conducted? He said that the French were to land at Alexandretta, we were to pursue the offensive in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and the Japanese were to be asked to take Constantinople and open the Straits! I think, also, that either the Japanese or the French were to carry out the Venizelos scheme. I said that I did not believe that the Japanese would consent, as the East alone concerned them, and all my inquiries had

shown that they invented pretexts about tonnage, and so on, to refuse the co-operation of their Armies in the West, and I did not blame them, as the West was not in their bond. He said that the Japs were ready to land at Vladivostok and save Siberia from becoming Bolshevist and a granary for Germany, but they wanted to go there alone, and the Americans did not approve of this plan.

I said that the Turkey plan must be submitted on some settled basis. It was time enough to talk of the Japanese when we knew that they would come, and then that they would come in adequate force. As for the other movements, it would take long for Allenby to reach Aleppo when he could only carry his railway along at the rate of not much over half a mile a day, and as for Mesopotamia, the campaigning season was passing, and our L. of C. was already a terrible length. Moreover, I objected: What profiteth it us to gain the whole Eastern world and lose France—our soul? How could any sane man propose to carry out these wild Eastern schemes when nine French departments were in Boche hands and this great Boche concentration in the West was in progress? I thought that people must be absolutely mad to talk of such things. Would Clemenceau lend himself to such folly? My French friend thought that Clemenceau was now completely in Foch's hands. Clemenceau was *chambré* in a magic circle which allowed no one to approach the President of the Council. My friend said that he could not approach him himself, and that Clemenceau's private secretary, an old friend, had admitted that Mordacq had given orders that Clemenceau was not to be allowed to see him! By these means, said my friend, Clemenceau hears only one note always struck, and he would not come to London for a War Council, alleging that he was too old to travel, so the Council would again meet at Versailles.

Foch, said the Frenchman, was playing to be *généralissime*. He was master of Clemenceau, and what Foch thought Clemenceau also thought. I said that it seemed to me inconceivable that 'The Tiger' could be so changed, but I was

assured that it was so, and that all Paris was talking about it, and also about coming changes in our G.H.Q. in France. It was thought that Haig would be replaced by Robertson, and the latter by Wilson. Then, when Robertson was kicked out, who would succeed him ? I thought Allenby, and I confessed that I did not know why he had suddenly returned to Cairo. I could only say that the Allied world seemed to have taken leave of its senses. My friend also told me that Haig had agreed, under pressure, to take over the front of the 3rd French Army to Barisy, much against his will, and that the move begins to-day and will take a month.

All this was bad enough, but worse followed. I learned from other sources that the War Cabinet, instead of finding means to provide the 615,000 drafts needed by the Army in 1918, had only arranged to find 100,000 A men for General Service, besides the 120,000 boys which the Army would get naturally in the first half-year. The War Office has sent in a good clear criticism showing the inevitable ruin of the Army owing to the cowardice of the War Cabinet and its refusal to tell the public the truth. The W.O. has been compelled to issue orders to reduce all divisions in France from 12 to 9 battalions of infantry, and is also breaking up four of the Home Defence divisions for drafts in order to make up part of the 120,000 men deficit. This is terrible and will mean the reduction of our infantry in France by one-fourth, and confusion in all our infantry at the moment of coming crisis. I have never felt so miserable since the war began, and the whole cause of the trouble is the shameful poltroonery and strategic incompetence of the War Cabinet. The country has only to be told the truth to accept any sacrifice, but L. G. dares not face the music, and the Tory dummies in his War Cabinet are mere ciphers. I can say very little because the editor of the *Times* often manipulates my criticisms or does not publish them. I am telling people these things as I refuse to be identified with a policy of concealing the truth from the public any longer, and I now openly express my disapproval of the policy of coddling the

War Cabinet pursued by Geoffrey Dawson for many months past, and partly, if not largely, the cause of the present trouble. The Northcliffe Press [1] is playing a despicable rôle just now, and if the *Times* does not return to its old independent line and act as watchdog of the public, I shall wash my hands of it.

Dined with the Scarbroughs. He had returned late after giving his vote in the Lords for female suffrage, but, as he said, without conviction. Belle Herbert, the Maguires, Lady Randolph, and Mr. Macpherson, U.S. of S. for War, also there. Mrs. Maguire asked me if it was true that my criticisms were cut out by the *Times*, and I said that they often were. I told Macpherson that the Army Council would have to take a strong line to save the country. M. seems a good man. He is of medium height, clean-shaved, well-groomed, and looks intelligent. The W.O. speak well of him, and he has kept up his wicket well. But Derby and the Army Council are no good or they would resign rather than see all these criminal follies perpetrated, and all their warnings disregarded.

Friday, Jan. 11. Dawson writes that he returned to work yesterday and that I must take it as a sign of restored health that he has begun by publishing quite intact the first article of mine that he could lay his hands on. A trifle late to reform. The harm is done. I write an account of the situation and tell him how serious it is, and that I have had to reconsider my position. I beg him to take a strong line and to fall upon the War Cabinet and either kill the Turkey scheme or let me do it. I tell him that on public grounds I may not be able to go on as I cannot stand by and see the War Cabinet coddled and saved by the *Times* when I think it is exposing our Armies to defeat. At the same time, I told him that it was indeed an agreeable surprise to me to read an article of mine in the form that I had written it.

Lunched with Sir James and Lady Craig at 6 Victoria Square. Their two boys, Sir John and Lady Lonsdale—he

[1] I neither saw, nor had any communication with Northcliffe from the day he went to America until I left the *Times*. I do not know his views on these matters.

has just been made a peer and cannot decide on a title—and Lady Lugard, perhaps more celebrated as Flora Shaw. We had a long and very frank talk.

Saturday, Jan. 12. Sir A. Paget sends me the figures of his Southern Army. They gave a fighting strength of 73,966 on Oct. 22 last. The four sectors of Ipswich, Clacton, Latchington, and Kent gave, respectively, 12,649, 21,716, 11,637, and 23,538 men, while the Reserve consists of the Cyclist Division of 4426 combatants. But the strength on Jan. 1, 1918, is only 58,527, and Paget says that if the 71st Division and 5th Cyclist Brigades are taken from him, as proposed, he will be 13,000 weaker, which will make it 45,000.

I asked at the War Office this morning whether they accepted the French figures of 170 German divisions now in France. They do not admit them yet, and say that they are based on theoretical estimates of troop transport: I suppose on Foch's maximum of 15 German divisions a month. Churchill made a rather alarmist speech about the German concentration yesterday. I hope, late as it is, it may induce him to abandon his Eastern proclivities and to make others abandon theirs. How can any sane man go on with these follies in the East when this menace impends in the West ?

Lunched with E., Gladys Unger, and some others, including a Georgian, M. D. Ghambashidze, a very clever fellow, and a Canadian, Mr. Armstrong, who appears to respond for him. G. says that Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Don, Kuban, Trans-Caucasia, Turkestan, Khiva, and Siberia are all setting up independent States and want us to send representatives to them, and not only to the Bolshevists. He says that the bulk of the population, wealth, and intelligence of Russia is in the South, and that they don't care a hang for artificial Petrograd and the hobbledehoys of the marshes and forests of the North. He wants us to act by the Trans-Siberian and to allow Japan to *accaparer* this route. Also, he says that we should open up the line through Persia. I told him that the Boches will

probably advance on Kieff and Odessa in the spring to seize the food supplies. He says that German banks have been established in Kieff and elsewhere and are lending money freely to make the people believe that Germany is the friend. He is most sarcastic about our Foreign Office and our Propaganda, and says that both are utterly useless. As for our films, he says that every Russian regards soldiers who are not dressed like Russians, including ours, to be Boches, so the films do more harm than good. The people don't want films, they want cigarettes, tea, money, and munitions, and the Boche travellers bring the first three, and are gradually salting Southern Russia while the Allies do nothing. The South hate the Bolshevists. Trans-Caucasia has 5700 trained officers. We make the mistake of asking them how many rifles and guns they can place in the field, which makes the people suspicious, whereas we should just ask them what they want and try to help them. The Federation of Black Sea Republics is coming along. Some Bolshevists came to Tiflis on propaganda. They were put up against a wall and shot. I do not know whether G. is what he pretends to be or not, but he is certainly very clever and well informed in his special subject.

Sunday, Jan. 13. Lunched with Mrs. Keppel: Violet and Sonia looking very pretty: General Ferdy Stanley and his wife, young Michael Torby, Villiers, Mrs. Rupert Beckett, Mrs. Robert Grosvenor, and a nice sailor. One of the party told us a story of Sir X. X. and Lady X. at Windsor. The King had recommended some tinned salmon, and had praised its cheapness, 8d. a lb. Lady X. was asked by the King how she liked it, and she replied that it was bad. She complained that she had a wretched night between the effects of the bad salmon and the reproaches of Sir X. X. for complaining of the King's food. Stanley very amusing. Mrs. K. and I had a talk about affairs after the rest had left. I went to see Lady Byng afterwards.

Monday and Tuesday, Jan. 14-15. I took the opportunity of looking round the S.E. coast defences before Sir Arthur Paget gave up his command, and had a very interest-

ing inspection these two days. Met Sir A. P. at Victoria, and travelled to Whitstable with him and his A.D.C., Rupert Higgins. Here we inspected the 17th Hampshire Regiment on parade, and then went on to Hampton Hill, where we witnessed combined firing of Lewis and Maxim guns, occupying the sector Hampton Pier–Herne Bay Pier, at targets out to sea. We then inspected the 35th Northumberland Fusiliers, 15th Devons, and 11th Somerset L.I., near Herne Bay, and lunched at the Connaught Hotel. General Smith, recently in Palestine, was in command of above sector. General Ovens came next at Reculver. We inspected his Minnis Bay sector, where all the positions were fully manned, and the eight Lewis guns near Minnis Bay Hotel opened fire, while two field guns behind the Minnis Bay Hotel, flanking the beach, were shown to us. We inspected the 26th Durham L.I. on Westgate Golf Course, and stayed the night at the Queen's Hotel, Margate—a very good and comfortable house. Brig.-General Oxley, Captains Hoskins and Higgins, and a few others there, including Joe Laycock, who has about 80 guns in this command under him. Joe and I had a talk till late and compared notes on current events. On Tuesday we started at 9.30 A.M. and inspected a good coast brigade consisting of the 36th Northumberland Fusiliers, 18th Yorkshire Regiment, and 27th Durham L.I., near Nash Court. Then we went on to Manston Aerodrome and inspected the extensive building of the R.N. Air Service here, under Captain Smythe Osborne. Thence on to the Inland Water Transport works at Richborough, and saw much of this wonderful establishment. Then on to Sandwich, and saw the trenches manned on the Bay opposite the Goodwins, and also saw some firing. Lunched at the St. George's Golf Club. Saw the new musketry camp, and a mobile battery which seemed pretty good. As it was now raining hard we abandoned the last inspection of another brigade, and motored to Canterbury, whence Sir A. motored back to Brentwood, while Higgins and I returned to London. General Cis Bingham, commanding the 67th Division, was with us most of the time.

Generally speaking, I thought the defences unlikely to resist a serious attack. The trenches are fairly good, but the barbed wire is very narrow, and the men holding them very thin. On a forty-mile front there are only the three coast brigades. Hardly any Vickers guns, and only a few Maxims: the rest Hotchkiss and Lewis guns, which are only automatic rifles, and the Hotchkiss nearly always jammed. The idea is to bring cross and flanking fire over all the accessible beaches, but any covering fire of ships, or a smoke screen, would enable troops to land without great loss. There are some strong points, behind which could be put up a bit of a fight, but except the three strung-out coast brigades, the only reserve now will be some 3000 cyclists at Canterbury. The gun-fire is poor; just a few of the old 15-prs. and some 4·7 guns, and a Stokes mortar or two. The men of the coast brigades only moderate, and nearly all of B category; unable to march far. The regimental officers looked indifferent with a few exceptions. Bingham's division is due to move to Colchester and cannot get back to the Kent sector under 36 hours. Last night a Boche warship bombarded Yarmouth, yet the commander of the Southern Army never had news of it—a fresh example of the want of touch between the coast defence authorities. I should say that 15,000 Boches could take Canterbury and raid the Inland Water Transport at Richborough and the aerodrome. The absence of reserves owing to the break-up of the divisions hitherto in reserve is noticeable.

I looked at the Sopwith fighting aeroplanes and the Handley-Page bombing aeroplanes at Manston. The former can make 110 miles an hour at 10,000 feet, and has a French engine. The Handley-Page weighs four tons empty and six with crew and bombs. They carry five men and sixteen 112-lb. bombs. They are for night work, and go 75 miles an hour with two Rolls-Royce engines, each 250 horse-power. They are to have four 350 horse-power engines, when they should go 90 miles an hour. The propellers are below the wings on each side. There is a good gun position forward with a fine field of fire. The pilot and observer sit behind.

Another gun fires in two positions towards the rear. The bombs drop out from inside the car or centre of the body. They should be formidable machines when more strongly engined, but are pretty useful now. Their wings fold. The Boche seems hardly to have found this aerodrome yet, but when he does he should make a mess of it.

The Inland Water Transport establishments are very wonderful. They are the creation of General Collard, now at the Admiralty. They cover an immense area, and much has been done to reclaim land, dig or enlarge canals, make piers, and so on. On the main pier or wharf there are twelve great travelling cranes, including two of five tons each. Here are loaded up the ships and barges carrying most of the heavy stuff for France. There is a 4000-ton ship which takes a train of sixty wagons as it stands with its load, carries it to Dunkirk or Calais where it is unloaded on to rails again, and goes on to the front without breaking bulk. There is an arrangement at the end of the pier which allows ships to take the railway trucks at all tides, and the rise and fall here is about ten feet only. The barges are of steel, with wooden coverings which take on and off. At present only 2500 tons are despatched a day, but in the summer often 28,000 tons a week, including guns, munitions, cars, supplies, engineering and ordnance stores, and so on. They build their own barges. They are towed across and then enter the French canals and pass up to the Armies. Some have been under fire on the French front. A truly astonishing place and a great triumph for Collard and his assistants.

Sir Auckland Geddes makes his long statement about Man-Power. We are only to get 439,000 men from youths in essential trades, such as munitions—but these are for Army, Navy, and Aircraft; and the Army—though Geddes concealed this fact—only gets 100,000 A men, as I expected. Moreover, as men twice severely wounded are to be kept at home, the net increase probably will vanish. Geddes stated that 1,600,000 enemies may reinforce the Western front! A nice reply! Is all the British world mad?

The *Times* writes a pathetically silly leader about it. There are points in Geddes's speech which are incorrect, and some which are unfortunate.

Wednesday, Jan. 16. I called in to see a well-informed friend, to find out how numbers stood, and he confirms my belief that the proposals of the Government will only add 100,000 A men to the Army, besides 100,000 B men. If the divisions are cut down to 9 battalions, the need of the year will only be 455,000 new men instead of the former 615,000, but the question of the cutting down is to be settled to-day. He was critical of Sir Auckland Geddes's speech last Monday, introducing the Government Man-Power Bill, and is not pleased with it. He says that the number of wounded who used to return to the Front is falling owing to physical fatigue. It was 60 per cent., and is now nearer 40 per cent. He thinks that the present deficit of 136,000 men, including now 86,000 infantry short in France, will be as great next April under the new arrangements.

The *Times* had a leader this morning making out that all the 420,000 to 450,000 men to be combed out of industries will go to our Armies, although Geddes himself said that they were to expand the Navy and the Air Force and to maintain the Army. This was too much for me. I should deserve to be hanged as a Boche agent if I remained with these imbeciles any longer. In the late afternoon I went to the *Times* and had a stormy interview with Dawson, the editor. He kept me waiting a long time before he saw me, and this made me in no better humour than before. I told him that I could not go on with him; that his leader this morning was mendacious; that his subservience to the War Cabinet during this year was, in my opinion, largely the cause of the dangerous position of our Army; that he had paid no attention to my constant exposure of the War Cabinet's failure to provide men, and that I considered he had been misleading the country. I further said that his constant deletion of whole paragraphs of my articles was unknown in the days of Buckle, and

that this practice, of which I had continually complained in vain, was dishonest to the public, since it prevented the country from knowing the truth, and unfair to me. I said that I considered his reply to my letter to be unsatisfactory, and that I would have nothing more to do with the *Times*. The discussion became heated, and I told him that neither the interests of the country nor those of the Army were safe in his hands, and that I proposed to write a letter to the manager resigning my position.

In the evening I wrote a line to Northcliffe to tell him my decision and to thank him for his courtesy to me, and another to the manager, Mr. Howard Corbett, setting out in a courteous form my reasons for resigning.

A good day's work. I have been much too patient and easy-going with the paper, and only regret I have delayed this step so long.

Friday, Jan. 18. A civil letter from Corbett accepting my resignation and expressing his regret. Lunched with Lady Kitty Somerset at 25 York Terrace. Lady Essex, Lady Gwendeline Churchill, General Tom Bridges, Lord D'Abernon, and H. G. Wells also there. A pleasant house, overlooking the park. Wells was in great form and looking very fit. We led him on to talk, and he always talks well. He was very fascinating, and we discussed governments, people, men, and women, till nearly 4, when I walked back with Lady Gounie, and had a look at her new house, 44 Bedford Square, of which Walkley, the *Times* theatrical critic, has the top floor. Then saw Fagalde, and we agreed to meet and talk to-morrow.

Went on later to see Admiral 'Lord Jellicoe of Scapa,' as he proposes to call himself. We first discussed the new standard of invasion, and I found that the Admiral entirely agreed with me, and he told me that the whole Board had done so except Wemyss, and J. does not know how the decision was arrived at after he left. He says that the standard was 165,000 potential invaders at the beginning of the war, and then came down to 70,000. He had never

accepted any less figure. He considered the limitation of the convoy to 30 ships preposterous, and says that if 30 can come 70 can also come. He says that the figure 30 was taken because we find it convenient to adopt it for our Atlantic convoys, which have skippers unused to sailing in company, but that if the Boches contemplate this stroke, they will practise their transports in the Bay of Kiel or in Heligoland Bight, place naval officers on board the ships, and see to it that all will be in perfect order. He considers it absurd to suppose that the Boches will not use their big ships, and that the new basis is altogether fantastic. He thinks it quite easy for the enemy, by sending a portion of the High Sea Fleet to sea, to attract ours towards Jutland or further north, and then to return to its bases, whither our Grand Fleet will follow him. But after 48 hours our ships must return to their bases to coal, and then it will take 36 hours for them to do so and to coal and oil, and 12 hours more to reach the point chosen for the landing, and in that interval the stroke can be delivered.

Beatty, he says, has approved of the plan of weakening Home Defence, but has not given any number, nor has admitted the 30,000 basis. J. says that there are three *King Edwards* at Sheerness, and he hopes that a couple or more Dreadnoughts will be there soon as well, as he wants to keep a force at Sheerness in order to make the enemy bring large ships which will give our submarines a chance. He admits a total want of touch between Army and Navy. In three months he hopes we may have enough submarines to watch constantly all the possible exits for the German convoy of invasion, but the notice given may not exceed 12 hours. He says that Admiral Hall professed to have news of the German Armada which took the Riga Bay Islands, but that he had never produced it. He says that in June last the Boches were well mined in, but since then they had swept three exits through our minefields. Our destroyers were very worn, both men and ships, by the hard work. The Devonport flotillas often spent 11 days and nights

at sea, and only two days off, and generally about 45 per cent. of the time of destroyers was passed at sea. Many officers had broken down under the strain.

J. says that the Boches are building 8 submarines a month. We destroyed, for certain, 27 submarines in the December quarter, 17 in the previous quarter, and 11 in the quarter before that. Previously we have never destroyed more than 9 in a quarter, but the 27 in December were more likely to run up to 35 when all the truth was known. He says it is absurd to count on help from our troops in France in case of the invasion stroke, as the Channel would be full of submarines to prevent any such transfer. He thinks that German destroyers and submarines on the Flanders coast will play the devil in the Channel, and now that 4 flotillas can be spared from the Baltic, the Boches will probably use them at Zeebrugge. J. has strongly supported the Flanders campaign and the naval attack proposed, telling L. G. that if he did not get the Boches out of this coast in war he would never get him out afterwards. This had displeased L. G., who was also incensed because J. had declared that he might not be able to support the Salonika Force. L. G. had tried to get the Grand Fleet to attempt side-shows, as he had done with the Army, and J. mentioned Heligoland as a case in point. J. was uneasy about the new ocean-going U-boats which carry two 6-inch guns and can remain out for three months. One had appeared at Sierra Leone, and J. feared that if they hunted in American waters the Americans might recall their destroyers. But he said that Admiral Sims was quite sound on this question. J. says that Scapa was not a safe base till Jan. 1915, and that during the first months of the war he had a bad time, being even forced at one time to go as far off as Lough Swilly.

Curzon had told J. that a story current about J. and the War Cabinet was a myth, and from nearly all the chief officers of the Grand Fleet, including the captains, J. had received the most flattering letters. He also showed me a most pathetic letter in pencil, evidently from the Lower

Deck, from a Submarine Flotilla, deploring J.'s departure, and asking him to fight it out and return to the Fleet, adding that only their sense of duty to their dear country and holy island prevented a mutiny. The whole story of J.'s dismissal is most squalid and crooked. J. has been given no reason for his dismissal even now. He was asked to resign, and refused. Two members of the Board were asked to induce him to resign, and they refused. He said that the question of Geddes going to Italy to take over the railways was much discussed again and again, and J. thought that Geddes desired to get away to avoid the unpleasant duty of dismissing him. He had had a row previously with L. G. about Oliver, and had said that he would resign if Oliver went. L. G. flew into a passion and said that he had no right to do so. But J. reminded L. G. that members of the Board were Ministers, did not wear uniform in peace time, and were not subject to naval discipline.

I saw a distinguished soldier this afternoon. The Boches have now 165 divisions in the West—two more than the total of the Allies—and they are coming in at the average rate of nine a month. A nice moment to reduce our infantry in France by a quarter and to go prancing off to the Holy Land to win the war there ! This soldier thought that it was quite time for me to repeat my indiscretion about the shells. Everything else had been tried without avail. The War Office had failed to move the Government fool from its folly, and the only chance of averting defeat was for me and some honest editor to speak out.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WAR COUNCIL OF FEBRUARY 1918

Clemenceau to be warned of the situation of our effectives—General Pétain's arrangements for defence—The French expect 220 German divisions to attack—A talk with the French Ambassador—I join the *Morning Post*—A look round at Aldershot—My article of Jan. 24, exposing the failure of the War Cabinet to maintain the Army—Mr. Gwynne's courage—A dinner at the Inner Temple—An offer to me from America—Clemenceau asks me to go to Paris—Journey to Paris—An Allied luncheon—Reports of the proceedings of the War Council—Disunity of Command—Secret diplomacy in Switzerland—A German air raid on Paris—Talk with M. Painlevé—Conversation with M. Clemenceau—The story of the War Council—A luncheon with M. Briand—We discuss the events of the war—A conversation with General Pétain—His views of the War Council and the situation—Colonel de Cointet's opinions—General Leman—M. Roman Dmowski—The 'Rubicon' papers—A race of monkeys—General Peyton March.

Saturday, Jan. 19. Lunched with the distinguished Frenchman, who is still here, at the Naval and Military Club. We had a serious talk about our Man-Power proposals, and agreed that they were hopelessly inadequate, since our losses in France last year had been 780,000, or 900,000 including other theatres, and as the enemy was bringing up much larger forces, we should expect a total casualty list of 1,200,000 in 1918, and the French the same. I said that I did not know yet for certain whether the enemy contemplated a grand attack upon us in the West, but that all the German papers which I saw pointed to the fact that they meant to attack. The Frenchman said that the —— of ——, whose information had been very good during the war and was doubtless derived from Austrian sources, believed that the question of the attack in the West had been long and anxiously de-

bated in Germany, and that ultimately it had been answered in the affirmative. The plan was to drive in two great attacks, one against Calais, and a second from Alsace. When these two great attacks had attracted and absorbed the Allied Reserves, then the main attack was to be launched in the centre against Rheims. This seemed to us a not improbable plan.

I asked whether the extension of our front to Barisy had settled the knotty point between Haig and Pétain. My friend thought it had, but in principle the French still held out for us to extend to Berry-au-Bac, and the Versailles men were going to recommend it. General Wilson, said my friend, had returned to Paris from London full of L. G.'s ideas of the impossibility of England doing anything more. We agreed that, so far as we could understand Auckland Geddes's plans announced in his speech last Monday, we should only get a small fraction of the men needed to maintain the Army, and it was not even sure that we should make good the present deficit of some 150,000 men. We could only see, throughout the whole of 1918, the 240,000 youths of 19, the recovered wounded, and the men now at the depots, and this would leave us with as great a deficit by April as before, even after the four Home Defence divisions had been broken up. The orders to reduce the British infantry divisions in France and Italy from 12 to 9 battalions had gone out, and I asked the Frenchman to note that at the crisis of the war, and with the act of decision near, we had reduced our infantry by one quarter and had made no arrangements to keep them up, while the Versailles soldiers were truckling to L. G.'s insane plan of winning the war by fighting Turks.

We discussed what should be done. The Allied War Council was to meet again next week in Paris. Clemenceau had said that he was too old to come to London, but L. G. had held out for the meeting here because an agreement in this sense had been reached. Clemenceau had therefore given way, whereupon L. G., having satisfied his *amour propre*, had agreed to go to Paris. We thought that the

important thing was for Clemenceau to be fully informed of the facts, and I suggested that I should see M. Cambon and get him to arrange for Clemenceau to learn the truth. It was evident from an article by Colonel Rousset in the *Petit Parisien* that the French were completely deluded about our preparations, and we thought it indispensable that Clemenceau should be exactly informed before the Conference. So it was agreed between us, and I agreed to go to Paris if M. Clemenceau wanted to see me.

I was also told that Pétain had settled upon certain regions of first-class importance to France where he could not retreat. These included the Nancy sector, Rheims, the Lens coal district, and the British front down to Arras from the sea. Therefore these sectors were to be the first to be fortified with all possible care and the reserves grouped suitably to support them. The other sectors where we could afford to go back were to take second place in order of priority for defences, but in their cases the line which must ultimately be held to the death must be settled too. It was on these lines that work was going on. Pétain had not only reserves of infantry divisions, but great reserves of heavy and field guns, and even his field guns had now mechanical traction so that no time might be lost in entraining them. It is true that Haig has 22 divisions in reserve, but of these, 3 each are allotted to the 5 Armies, so that Haig had only 7 divisions as general reserve, and this is not enough to meet a serious attack. The French expect a grand total of 220 Boche divisions, and news of the arrival of Austrians at Antwerp has come in, possibly gunners with the Austrian 305-mm. heavies.

Saw Olive and Lady Bagot, and returned to Maryon to show Sir George Arthur my papers, etc., relating to Lord K., whose life Arthur is writing. He took away all my letters from Birdwood and Marker relating to K.'s time in India, and is to send for Lord K.'s letter to Stedman, which he has not seen before, while he will come again about the Sudan story when he gets to it. The history is to appear a year after the end of the war. Arthur told me many interesting

things about K. and the war, and took no exception to the first pages of this diary, which I showed to him.

Sunday, Jan. 20. Finished my article on the need of the Army for men, explaining the whole situation clearly to the public and laying the blame for our critical situation on the procrastination and cowardice of the War Cabinet. It will create a sensation when it appears. Played a little Bridge at Lady Paget's with Lady Mar, Lady Florence Willoughby, Mrs. Maguire, Lord Charles Montagu, and a few more. I told them of my resignation and they all applauded it. Dined with the McKennas. Mrs. George Keppel, Lady Granard, Sir Lionel Earle, and several others, who all seemed delighted with my decision, and said the nicest things. I then went on at 10.30 P.M. to see M. Cambon, the French Ambassador. De la Panouse was with us during our talk. I explained the position of affairs and requested M. Cambon to explain the real position to M. Clemenceau. Cambon undertook to write a letter to M. Clemenceau, and guaranteed that it would be delivered to the French Premier personally,—perhaps by Cambon's brother—and I offered to go to Paris if Clemenceau wished to see me. Cambon inclines to the view that the Germans will not attack in the West, but agrees with me that we must be prepared for it.

Monday, Jan. 21. Notice of my resignation appeared in the *Morning Post* and *Daily Mirror* to-day. My telephone was ringing all the morning with congratulations, requests for interviews, and offers of employment from many London and provincial papers. But I had sent off this morning my acceptance of the *Morning Post* offer, so I refused all other offers.

I went off to Aldershot in the afternoon to stay with Sir Archibald and Lady Murray at Government House. Gardner of the *Daily News* sent down Mr. Harris to see me, and I arranged to see Gardner to-morrow. A good talk with Murray, who tells me again that all the first part of his despatch was cut out because it would have shown up the vacillation and constantly changing orders

of the Government. Murray looking careworn from worry over the wicked attacks on him. We discussed the new invasion basis, and M. agreed with me about it. He was entirely against the cordon system of coast defence, and I was heartily glad to hear it.

Tuesday, Jan. 22. I went to see the young troops, who looked well. Murray has 115,000 men in his command, but only one cavalry and two infantry brigades fit to march in the event of invasion. There are 15,000 Flying Corps, 40,000 Canadians, and masses of schools, details, and administrative services. We saw the gymnasium, which is excellent, and the bombing, gas, and bayonet fighting. About two-thirds of the training is physical. General Wright in command at the gymnasium. They think that they can make an infantry soldier in six months if he has many refresher courses. Ronny Brooke and his pretty wife came to lunch. Returned to London in the afternoon, and I went to the Reform Club and saw Gardner, Buckmaster, and Arnold Bennett. Gardner told me many things about L. G. and his set. Gardner thinks that this Parliament is the most corrupt since the days of George III., and gave me many instances of honours shamelessly bestowed. He says that this is a war of a military system against the civil governments of the world, and that L. G. does not place the case fairly before the public. Found a heap of letters and messages at home on my return.

Wednesday, Jan. 23. General de la Panouse and I lunched at the Café Royal and had a good talk. We went into the question of men, and I gave him my figures, with which he agreed. M. Cambon is to send off his letter, with a Minute by Panouse, to M. Clemenceau to-morrow morning, and 'The Tiger' should ask some awkward questions of L. G. at the Allied War Council, which meets a week hence at Versailles. Meanwhile, Robertson, Haig, Pétain, Foch, and Pershing are confabulating at Compiègne, and should produce a joint and agreed-upon plan which will, I hope, give the law for 1918 and render the futilities of

the Versailles soldiers abortive. This morning the *Times* published a paragraph giving a totally false complexion to my reasons for leaving them. I at once wrote to say that it was inaccurate and misleading, and called upon them to publish my letter of resignation of Jan. 16. Dined with Olive and Lockett, and we discussed my affairs.

Thursday, Jan. 24. I continue to receive many offers of work, but have now fixed up with the *Morning Post*, who have to-day sent me the terms of an agreement with them. Lunched with Lady Mar at 19 Hill Street; Mar, the Romillys, and a few more.

My article, exposing the failure of the War Cabinet to maintain the Army, came out in the *Morning Post* to-day without going to the Press Bureau and caused much excitement. It is a thorough exposure of the procrastination and cowardice of the Cabinet, and I have not minced matters. It is unanswerable, and its sting is in its truth.

It is fine of Gwynne to have published it without sending it to the Censor, and I hope that his courage and public spirit will be gratefully remembered. We wondered whether one or both of us would be put in prison. I heard that at the War Cabinet this morning L. G. was all for it, but that the others prevented it. I expect they know that I can prove my case up to the hilt.

In the afternoon, as I was writing, a telephone message came from Mr. Justice Darling to ask me to dine with him at the Inner Temple with the Benchers. I thought it a sound thing to do to make friends with the heads of the law, so accepted, and passed a very agreeable evening. Darling has a keen, penetrating glance, and an intellectual face; he has plenty of character and decision, and is very human and broad; I liked him very much. Some wonderful Madeira. I was struck by the fine heads and type of intellect of the judges and K.C.s present. They were very nice to me and seemed to sympathise, as the rest of the world does, with the course that I have taken. The presiding treasurer, I think it was, told me across the table that if I got into trouble, Darling, as the First

Puisne Judge (whatever that may be), would try me. Darling himself advised that if they shut me up I should apply for a writ of Habeas Corpus, and that if one judge refused it I could go on asking others. A very pleasant dinner. Admiral Hall, the D.N.I., and Whigham also there as guests. I was much cross-examined, but held my own I hope. One of the Benchers told me that the war had shown up the tremendous extent of bigamy, because all the legitimate wives applied for the separation allowance, and then the thing came out. Walked up to Piccadilly with Whigham, who warned me that an attack would be made on the W.O. for giving me information. Evidently the affair is going to be used as a vehicle for an L. G. attack on Derby and Robertson, but I have a pretty complete answer to that.

Friday, Jan. 25. The *Times* not having published my letter of resignation yesterday, I published it myself in the *Morning Post* to-day, and every one who cares for truth and straightforward dealing will see the mendacious character of the *Times*' explanation. I continue to receive many letters and telephone messages of sympathy and approval from known and unknown friends. Lunched with Gwynne, Colvin his chief leader writer, and Cornford his naval critic. I had met Cornford before. A good talk. I liked Colvin very much. Dined with Lady Paget and found the McKennas, Lady Drogheda, Lady Mar, Admiral Paget, and Seymour Fortescue. Lady D. very full of her approaching visit to America with her aircraft. It is rather splendid of her to go. She was looking very well and should be a great success in America.

Saturday, Jan. 26. Mr. Learoyd, the London correspondent of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, came up and showed me a cable asking whether I would go to America and at what salary. I said that to go to America would make me lose touch of the war, that London was the nerve centre, and that one would soon drop out of things in the States. Coming to terms L. offered me as his own idea, but possibly as a figure suggested to him, £4000 a year, but I told

him that this was not attractive. We then discussed the matter at some length, and I gave him my views, and that I was committed to the *Morning Post* and had to consider them in any arrangement. Also, I said that I did not propose to leave my house in London, and that even if the *Ledger* tempted me, and made terms which would not prejudice the *Morning Post*, the figure would have to be high. I did not pretend that my writing was worth the high figure, but that it was not worth my while to make a change except for a very large sum and an arrangement over a term of years. He is going to report accordingly. I have no intention of leaving London and deserting the Army's cause, but want to see what the *Ledger* means. Lunched with Mrs. Lionel Guest in Seymour Street. Some machine gun officers. Saw Lionel's new self-adjusting sights for anti-aircraft guns. A fascinating invention and should be pressed on by practical tests, as I think that it has the merit of most ingenious theory.

Sunday, Jan. 27. Learoyd telephones that a fresh proposition will come Monday. Mr. Tuohy of the *New York World* came up to ask me to write a special article for their Sunday edition, but I did not see my way to oblige. He said that the *World* had just made a contract with the *Morning Post* for their service. Lady Hamilton and George Street lunched at Maryon, and we had a pleasant talk about books, plays, and Russian affairs.

Monday, Jan. 28. Lunched with Olive, Mrs. Norton, and Gwynne. After lunch I told Gwynne my position in regard to the American offers. Called to see Reggie and Bee Pembroke. He is looking very ill and will take no care of himself, and I am disturbed about him.

Tuesday, Jan. 29. My second *Morning Post* article appeared with a slashing attack on the people who are opening attacks on the War Office. Saw Admiral Sir Hedworth Meux at the Turf Club, and we compared notes about the vile attacks upon naval and military chiefs. Meux is going to speak out at Portsmouth about it on Friday, and I must get a full report made to help him.

Wednesday, Jan. 30. I received yesterday a telephone message from Clemenceau, asking me to come to Paris at once and to see him on my arrival, so I spent to-day in getting permits and passport *visés*. Had a talk with a friend at the F.O., and found him in accord with my view of matters. He thinks that the Bolshevists are now turning against Germany, and is glad about it. We seem to be working up Trans-Caucasia and the Don, while the French are working up the Ukraine. A bit late. The F.O. have left the Embassy at Petrograd free leave to come away if things get too hot. I said that I thought this threw the responsibility too much on the Embassy, and that they should have definite orders one way or another, but my friend said that there was already a wish at the Embassy to come away. He did not altogether believe in the coming grand attack. He was rather of Cambon's views about it. But he said that the German General Staff were sure of victory, while the Kühlmann party were the reverse. Various dates had been assigned for the attack, and the latest was March 1. He was in touch with Austria, and thought that the latter would not make a separate peace, but would exercise pressure on Germany to stop the war. Some Austrian troops were coming West, but Czernin had told friends of ours that this was in order to keep a promise given, and that we were not to take much account of it. My friend thought that the Germans did not intend to help the Turks much, and that the two Boche divisions in Palestine are weak and bad. The Bulgars, he thought, did not mean to attack. A report had come from Plumer on the Italian Army. The French are expecting to get back their divisions from Italy, and we may also get back ours. My friend doubts whether the *généralissime* question will crop up this week, but says that the Turkish campaign is still on, and wonders how it will go. Lunched with Sir Percy Girouard at 'The Rag,' and we had a talk about engineer matters at the front. He thinks that armour can be more used with guns, and a better means be found of crossing 'No-Man's Land.'

This morning the *Philadelphia Ledger* offered me £5000 a year to go to them, and promised me a great reception in America, and freedom to lecture and make piles of money. I passed it on to Gwynne, but I propose to stay here and help the Army and stand the racket of the bitter enmity which I have aroused, and to work for the *Morning Post*, who have been so good about things.

In the evening a pleasant dinner with Mrs. Astor; Lady Randolph, Lionel Earle, Lady Paget, Lord Wemyss, Mrs. Sibby Long, Lord Lurgan, Lady Mar, Villiers, Mrs. George Keppel, Sidney Greville, and a Russian baron. I came away early with Lady Randolph, and we walked to the Tube. She compared the present unfavourably with the past. Formerly people who were fond of each other appeared immaculately dressed without a hair out of place, and on terms of stiff formality. Now people slapped each other on the back and pretended to be attached, and it meant absolutely nothing.

Thursday, Jan. 31. Left Charing Cross at 1.20 P.M. A good passage in convoy. Talked most of the time with General Sir E. Locke-Elliot, Bobby Ward the King's Messenger, Baker-Carr of the Tanks, and a G.H.Q. man. Met Lord Cavan on board, and had a talk with him about Italy. His position on the Montello is strong in front, and he can attack right and left with his reserves. Plumer tells General Diaz that he will not retire. Cavan's and Plumer's opinions of the Italians concur. Dined with Cavan and General Wilberforce at an hotel. Ward gave me a berth in his sleeping carriage. Left Boulogne 9.15 P.M., arrived Paris 6.30 A.M. We heard of a big air raid on Paris last night.

Friday, Feb. 1. Found a room at the Ritz. X. came to see me while I was dressing, and told me that Robertson was ill with bronchitis, but had insisted on attending the Allied War Council yesterday. X. did not think that the Council had yet done much good or much harm. It was like all its predecessors, a *parlote*. The *généralissime* question had been brought up, and had been more or less

ruled out on account of the political and parliamentary difficulties inherent in it; but the question had then come up of one commander for the Allied Reserve, which is a precious silly suggestion; but X. did not know whether any conclusion had been reached. The Aleppo expedition had been brought up by L. G., and the same kind of futile half-discussion had followed, without any settlement. I made sarcastic remarks on this tomfoolery. Saw Le Roy-Lewis, who told me that we were all digging-in hard and talking now of second lines. He had been to the Vosges, and had to inform Clemenceau that the defences were poor. Cavan, I think it was, told me yesterday that Rawlinson was now making a regular fortified zone, with a thinly-held first line, others behind, and a reserve for counter-attacks. Cavan also said that superior supervision was wanting, and that the G.H.Q. men did not visit the front enough. He, personally, always saw into everything, and I said that I knew it. He praised very much Babington and his 23rd Division, which was in beautiful order. So is the 41st, under Lawford, and the 7th.

I saw General Kentish, now in command of a brigade of the 5th Army. He thought that the complaints at home of the soullessness of the Army administration had some justification, and said that he wanted a system which would look more closely into grievances of officers at home, and would examine billets at night, and see the needless hardships involved in using barns instead of *estaminets*, for instance. He is to prepare a short statement for me on this subject. He is furious about Lovat Fraser's and other attacks on the Old Army, and declares that out of 1500 New Army senior officers whom he had under him at Aldershot, not twelve were fit to be brigadiers.

I asked Gordon Knox, the *Post* man in Paris, to lunch, but he was attending the weekly *déjeuner intime des alliés*, and suggested that I should go there. Spiers and our naval liaison officer, Heaton-Ellis, were there, also M. Millet, and about 20 or 30 more, mostly French, British, and American

Press people. I sat between M. Sabatier and the *D.T.* correspondent. They pressed me to speak, but I refused. After lunch a Japanese journalist was asked to speak first, and he told us that if we did not win the war, the elements in Japan that thought the German system of government better than democratic ideals would win the day. A long speech followed from a French Socialist, mainly blather; and then an Englishman who had been at the British Labour Conference at Nottingham gave us his impressions, making out that Labour had gone over to the extreme Left, that they did not trust Lloyd George, and that while they were for the freeing of Belgium and France they were opposed to the Man-Power Bill, and were determined to resist it. They want their Stockholm, and will not fight unless allowed to try and make terms with foreign Socialists. I asked him a question about Alsace-Lorraine, and he said that they were for a plebiscite. I went off to X.'s house. We assume Aleppo to be off. Clemenceau is opposed to it. The question of the command is a real difficulty, and it is not yet settled. Clemenceau and X. want Pétain and Haig to agree together, and Foch and Robertson to be brought in if the other two differ. X. says that there has been some hard talking on the question of men, and that he never saw L. G. look so furious as when he entered the Council room at Versailles. Clemenceau had given figures, and L. G. had given others. Hutchison had brought over the real figures. X. had advised Clemenceau to keep off figures because L. G. could not be contradicted when he brought in figures and declared that he alone was responsible. Also, when he threatened revolution, Clemenceau was again disarmed. X. said Clemenceau had found out L. G. and saw through him.

In the evening I was told more about the War Council. Yesterday (Thursday) L. G. had been beaten to a frazzle on the Aleppo folly, and had not a leg to stand on. This morning he took the offensive with a resolution by Wilson, declaring that *if* the Western front was secure, and *if* the Italian theatre was safe, the Aleppo scheme might go forward, but no mention was made of the competent authority

which would decide about the 'if's,' and consequently L. G. is left with the power to do this mischief. Robertson had to get up and stoutly oppose this project, and made things bad for L. G. in consequence. Then came the question of the command of the reserves in the West. The first proposal was that Foch and Robertson should come in, and this was approved by all the soldiers present, including Foch and Pétain, but Wilson caused it to be put aside on the pretext that the competent authority must be present at Versailles. Then came two alternatives. The first was that the Versailles military triumvirate should decide with the civil members, and that they should all go together and bring up the reserves. Whether Milner was to command the cavalry was not settled. The last scheme was that Foch should command the reserves, with the Versailles Staff under him. But in both the two latter schemes the Versailles soldiers and civilians were to clear out when fighting began. All these schemes are forms of lunacy. Clemenceau was not much concerned, as in each he had his man, Foch. Haig did not support Robertson in protesting against Aleppo because he thought the latter plan outside his province. This is the gammon that is going on before the German great offensive.

Saturday, Feb. 2. The Council at Versailles continues this morning and will end by lunch time. A friend came in and we had a good talk, in which I explained to him the whole position as I saw it. He confirmed the report that the Versailles soldiers had all signed a paper recommending the Aleppo offensive. We discussed the Labour position. General Kentish came in and I lunched with him. We talked of all the hardships of regimental officers and of what could be done to redress them. He allows me to keep his papers on this subject and to show them to Derby. In the afternoon I met the young Duchess of Sutherland, who is off to the Riviera for her health with Lady Ward, Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, and a small party.

Went on to the French Ministry of Marine and had a talk with Commodore Heaton-Ellis, now liaison officer

between the two Navies. We discussed the Conference, invasion, probable action of the German Navy, and other matters. He tells me that the British practically control at sea, and that the French always do what we ask of them. He noticed the minor rôle which the French Navy has always played. He thought that if the Germans could get hold of the Russian Black Sea Fleet they might send down crews and man four large ships and become a nuisance, compelling us to divide our forces. I said that when the Danube thawed I expected to see the German U-boats in the Black Sea, and renewed attacks by them in the Eastern Mediterranean. I did not find him thinking much of German naval action on a large scale, but I said that a concentration of the German and Austrian fleets seemed to me not impracticable, and that there were many alternative plans open to the Germans, and that I did not see the war ending without Germany using her naval arm. We agreed about Jellicoe's treatment.

I am carefully avoiding our Mission, and have not tried to see any of them. Heard later that to-day's meeting had come to no agreement about the reserves, except that there should be a general over them, but which of the alternative systems was to be chosen the Council could not decide. I hear that Lucas is gloomy and thinks that our G.S. has been beaten all along the line. I am not so sure, but I must say that a more lame and impotent series of conclusions it would be hard to find. I met Robertson and Hutchison in the Rue Royale, but thought it best not to speak to them. Dined with a friend who told me that Smuts had been twice to Switzerland, under the assumed name of Mr. Ashworth, to negotiate with the Austrians for a peace, but had failed. One of his visits was last month, and one in December last. Briand had also employed earlier a fair lady well known in French society. Mensdorff and Mrs. Barton, who was a Peel, had also met. The F.O. thought that the Austrians could not make a separate peace, much though they wished to do so. The visits of Smuts, so far, remain entirely unknown to the public. He was coming

here on Tuesday on his way to Palestine, perhaps to prospect for L. G.'s Aleppo campaign. I met Lady Congreve to-night. 'Squibs' is back in command of the 7th Corps of Gough's 5th Army, and Lady C. is going back to work in the Nancy direction.

Sunday, Feb. 3. The air raid on Paris last Wednesday night was carried out by four Boche squadrons, which threw about 14,000 kilos. of explosives in bombs of from 40 to 100 kilos. weight. About 255 persons were killed and injured, including 49 killed, and a good lot of damage was done. One of the four great metal lamps in the Place de la Concorde, on the immediate right of the road leading up to the Arc de Triomphe, was cut off clean, about 6 inches from the top, by a French aeroplane which had been forced to descend. So ends the tale that Paris is better defended than London. The Boche airmen can come here when they please. Much talk of more guns and aircraft to protect Paris, but opinion is no more disturbed about it all here than in London. M. Painlevé, the late Prime Minister, lunched with me at the Ritz. We began on the charges now being brought against him of having stopped Nivelle's offensive on April 16 last, an accusation which I knew to be false. It was first launched by a Geneva paper, and has since appeared at some length in the January number of *Collier's Weekly*, written by Mr. Wythe Williams, who was the *New York Times* Paris correspondent, but is so no longer. Painlevé thinks that it is inspired, if not written, by Nivelle. P. says that Nivelle many times described his attack as a great rush which would be an affair of 24 to 48 hours, and that Nivelle himself stopped the attack in this form by 12 noon on the 17th. It is not true that some deputies got a panic by witnessing the losses. P. places Nivelle's losses in nine days as 70,000 wounded, 5000 missing, and 35,000 dead,[1] but he says that owing to exposure and hardship the sick and wounded alone amounted to 114,000, excluding those who returned to the ranks within five days. The proof that P. did not stop the attack was that it continued, though in another form, and

[1] Compare Vol. I. pp. 553 and 554.

this is also correct. P. told us that in the secret session he answered fully all the charges, and in the open sitting which followed he was much applauded and received a unanimous vote of confidence. Senator Berenger's secret report was against him : the latter had permitted people to see it six months after it was written. The report of Foch, Brugère, and Gouraud was one designed to cover a brother officer, and Brugère alone had the courage to declare that Nivelle '*n'a pas été à la hauteur de la tâche qu'il avait assumée.*' The fact was that the orders of three French Army Corps for the attack were found by the Boches on a French adjutant captured at the Sapigneul bridge-head on April 5. These orders revealed the whole plan, and the Boches had all the preparation made to resist it. The French columns suffered terribly in consequence. Nothing has occurred to alter the truth of the fact that Nivelle promised a success which he could not achieve, namely, the complete overthrow of the Germans. Pétain had been made Chief of the Staff on April 29, and had then reviewed the Nivelle plan, and had decided to continue the battle by a *combat d'usure.*

We then turned to the recent proceedings of the Allied War Council, of which I gave Painlevé the sketch that rumour assigned to it. P. said that from being an organ to supervise the general policy of the war, the Council had become an executive organ for conducting it, and that he could not conceive how such a foolish plan could work. He was also opposed to the Aleppo expedition. We had a long and animated conversation, and he promised to write and keep me informed.

At 4 P.M. I went to see Clemenceau at the War Office. A preliminary chat with Lt.-Colonel Herscher of his Cabinet. Clemenceau greeted me most cordially, and told me the whole history of the War Council. It had begun with a meeting of the four Premiers and the soldiers, when L. G. had recommended, in a long, eloquent, and clever speech, the Aleppo expedition and the idea of finishing the war by 'knocking out the Turk'! He had told Clemenceau that he and the Westerners had no plan. Clemenceau had re-

plied in a speech which he thought had completely demolished L. G.'s case. He had said that if the Turks wished to surrender they could do so now, but that if they thought the Germans had the best of things they would not surrender, and a march on Aleppo would not make them. In reply to L. G.'s challenge of his plan, Clemenceau replied that he certainly had a plan, and that it was to hold out until the Americans appeared in sufficient strength, and that this plan might require a year at least to work out. He showed up all the folly of L. G.'s plan, and thought that he had gained a success over our P.M.

Next day they came to drafting an article to meet the case, when it was agreed that the expedition should only take place if the situation elsewhere rendered it safe, and Clemenceau caused to be inserted the proviso that no troops for it should be taken from the French and British Armies in the West or from those at Salonika. C. thought that the expedition was defeated by these provisions, but I said that I did not feel sure. Robertson made a brilliant and emphatic speech opposing the expedition, and Clemenceau stated openly that he agreed with R., but the article was agreed to as C. thought it harmless. This is more than I do, but I do not see what more C. and R. could have done in the circumstances.

The second main point was the question of effectives. Hutchison produced our figures, which showed our weakness and failure to provide the men, as mine had done. Foch then got up and made a good speech on the same subject, supporting my point of view. L. G. replied and asked whether he was to take men from mines, shipyards, etc., which were supplying the Allies? No one had asked him to do so, commented Clemenceau. L. G. then went on to threaten a social revolution[1] if the country were asked for more men, and made the most of the argument. Foch then rose to continue the dis-

[1] The absurdity of this argument was shown later. Between our defeat of March 21, 1918, and the Armistice of November 11 we sent 740,624 men to France, including 112,738 Dominion troops, and there was not one murmur, still less a social revolution.

cussion, when L. G. waved him down and refused to listen to any more discussion on the subject, which was one way of treating the Allied Council. The whole object of L. G., Clemenceau thought, was to exclude from the discussion the consideration of subjects which L. G., for his own purposes, claimed as the business of his Government alone, and Clemenceau said that as L. G. took these grounds the French could not insist nor carry the argument beyond a certain point. He said that L. G. was obviously very angry, and that it would never have done for the Council to have broken up over a question of this kind.

The last question was that of the reserves. It had been finally decided—and that was news to me, and very bad news—that the Versailles soldiers, one from each of the four nations (with Weygand excluded at Italian suggestion, and Foch acting as President), were to have control of the reserves, were to have the right of going about among the Armies and of looking into things, and, generally, of directing the reserves as they wished. Thus both Haig and Robertson are practically relieved of responsibility, which is vested in a Board by political decision. It is disunity of command and three Richmonds in the field. Clemenceau said that Pershing had risen to regret the exclusion of Robertson from the Board, and that he, Clemenceau, had also delivered a panegyric upon Robertson, describing him as one of the greatest authorities of the Allied Armies. I asked Clemenceau a number of questions about the powers of the Board, but could see no ray of light in this dismal gloom except that the plan might be reconsidered at another meeting of the Council six weeks later in London. Clemenceau declared to me that X.'s military opinion and judgment were not worth a scrap of paper. Clemenceau said that they had asked Italy to send to France a number of troops equivalent to the Franco-British troops dispatched to Italy. He thought the Italian troops not bad, and only their commanders to be bad. He thought that the Italians would refuse, in which case we could take our troops away and could regard them as an additional reserve. I spoke to Clemenceau about a French

friend of mine and advised him to see him whenever he wanted to know anything about our Army. He promised to see any one whom I sent to him. He also told me that Count Czernin had offered to meet L. G. in Switzerland, and that our War Cabinet had considered the offer and had refused.

We had a long talk over other subjects connected with the war, and then I drove back to the Ritz to meet the Duchesse d'Uzès at tea, and had a talk with her for a couple of hours over her adventures. She told me that she had warned the French Government of Bulgaria's intention to side against us three months before it happened, and had been laughed to scorn. At Briand's invitation she had gone to Switzerland and had met an intimate friend of the Emperor Karl's. She had received answers to all the questions that she had been asked to put forward, and had waited for a fortnight with the Austrian for a reply from Paris. She had at last come to Paris to see what had happened, and Briand had then fallen, and had never, she thought, even read her letter. She was sure that Briand would use her again if he came back, but that he did not want any one else to obtain the credit for having won over the Austrians. The Duchesse works through her Bourbon political friends, and through the Spanish Court and personal friends in Austria, including the present young Empress. She also uses the 'Black Pope,' or General of the Jesuits, whose headquarters are in Switzerland, and she is sure, first, that Austria wants peace badly; secondly, that the Emperor can and will sign a peace on his own responsibility; and, thirdly, that the Black and White Popes will help with all their power. This clever and attractive lady, brilliant in conversation, and very capable, is most contemptuous of the F.O. and Quai d'Orsay diplomacy. She declares that Stürmer and the Germans made an agreement over Austria's head; that the proof and the papers are in Russia and might be obtained; and that if they could be obtained, Austria would *lâcher* the Boches at once. We did not think much of Mensdorff's assurance to Mrs. Barton that Austria would never make peace without Germany, as we considered

this the usual Ball-Platz formula, and did not suppose that M. would convey to Mrs. Barton anything else. It is the young Emperor and his personal surroundings, including his Carmelite confessor, that the Duchesse wishes to act upon. It is just conceivable that this attractive *grande dame* of the old régime may be better able to influence the Austrian Emperor's surroundings than ordinary diplomats. Clemenceau ought, at all events, to see the Austrian answers which she brought back with her.

Mr. and Mrs. Bliss, of the American Embassy, and Le Roy dined with me. She was looking very pretty and was most pleasant. Afterwards we adjourned to my rooms with Lady Congreve and had a talk. Bliss and I talked America. He confirms what I know already about this question. I told him of my strong objections to the incorporation of American units in our formations, and I was relieved to hear from him that it was doubtful whether this proposal would be acceptable; in fact, he plainly hinted that it would not be. He is Councillor at the Embassy. There was, he said, now a great deal of criticism of the Executive at Washington, and the main faults found were the constriction in the neck of the bottle and want of decentralisation. They were faced by a task of unheard-of difficulty.

Count de Salis, our Minister at the Vatican, was at the next table at dinner and came up to my rooms to talk when the ladies had gone. He considers that the Vatican would look with more than favourable eyes upon an agreement between us and Austria, and would help us in every possible way. The F.O. had told him that Ledochowsky, the General of the Jesuits, was a German, whereas he is, of course, an Austrian Pole, and de S. said that Ledochowsky has a great position at the Vatican and is extremely influential, having his own representative there. All that he said confirmed me in my first impression that the Duchesse is on the right road. He says that Cardinal Gasparri and I are the two first military critics in Europe. He does not know whence Gasparri gets his information, but it is very good. I told him the story of my visit to

Rome in 1882, when I was recommended by my aunt, Lady Herbert of Lea, to one of the Jesuits, who laughed to scorn my youthful ideas of an early and great war, saying that I must wait until all the alliances were formed and that then there would be trouble—as there has been, in all conscience. An interesting day. Clemenceau's last words to me before I left were, 'Stop the side-shows and send us men.' Our conversation was entirely in French. I should add that Clemenceau expressed much anxiety about the German mustard gas or *ypérite*, and said that recently three French batteries had had 40, 60, and 80 per cent. of their men placed *hors de combat* by it.

Monday, Feb. 4. General Godley came in to have a talk. We agreed that the best solution at the point we have reached would be to have an exclusively French Army of Reserve under a French general, and to leave the British out of the reserves, though, if necessary, with a broader front. Godley does not like the new nine battalion division, apart from the loss of men, as a brigade of three battalions cannot have two in the line and two out ; in fact, he prefers divisions also to be of four brigades, as I do, and thinks that our present divisions are over-staffed. G. would have preferred to lose divisions instead of battalions as it would have provided so many more good cadres. He admits the inefficiency of the machine-gun corps at Cambrai. They will now become a divisional unit, perhaps as a battalion, and an attempt will be made to make them a *corps d'élite*, as the Germans are. Godley says that five to six feet of reinforced concrete will keep off all but direct hits by 12-inch and 15-inch guns. He is wiring and digging for all he is worth and using the Boche pill-boxes, which are most valuable. He thinks that Hunter-Weston, who is on his left, can be turned out of Passchendaele whenever the Boches choose. Godley's real trouble on the Menin Road position is want of depth. He can only fight back about 3000 yards, and will then be in the mud again. What he dreads is a succession of great bombardments and attacks. Godley met, in the Riviera, Prince Aga Rosenborg of Denmark,

who has just come through Germany. He was nearly starved, and says that the food conditions are inconceivably bad. He thinks, in fact, that the Boches cannot stick it out through the winter, although the winter is nearly over, and he says that he had more chance of getting food than most people. The Prince is the nephew of Queen Alexandra, and pro-British in his sympathies. He describes the German espionage system as first rate.

This morning there is published an official and completely fantastic *compte rendu* of the proceedings of the War Council. Le Roy described it as hogwash and molasses. It tells absolutely nothing of the decisions taken, and is merely a fanfaronade of a silly character, with patriotic variations. It appears to have been drafted in English, except the last paragraph, which is obviously French. The approval is general in the French Press because they either do not know or do not understand.

M. Briand, the penultimate Prime Minister, came to lunch with me. Le Roy came in later, and we sat talking from 12.30 to 3. Briand is a most fascinating and charming companion. He has been seven times Prime Minister and may be again. He has great experience and much depth of knowledge. He is more restful than L. G., loves a good story, has a warm corner in his heart for a pretty woman, and is very human. His conversation is interspersed with flashes of wit which come and go so lightly that one forgets most of them all too quickly. His view of the situation is that no one has risen to the level of the war nor has understood its changing character. It is now a war of peoples and of all the peoples, including the women and children, who are threatened even in their homes by bombs while the bourgeois is sleeping by his bourgeoise. No one imagined that there could be such a war as this, or will ever permit it to recur, but at present all the old machinery for dealing with a campaign has broken down on account of the magnitude of the war, and we are drifting. He thinks that the moment has more than come for the diplomatic offensive and that nothing is being done. He

was not in favour of treating with Austria before Russia's collapse, because we could only satisfy Austria at the expense of our Allies; but now that Russia is out of the hunt he is all for parleying, and holds that no conversation offered should be refused. I put it to him what should be done if Czernin offered to talk with L. G., and Briand said that most certainly he should go. He was sarcastic about Smuts's visit to Switzerland, and declared that Smuts had asked for a 'Yes' or a 'No' to a string of questions; then had given a military salute and had turned on his heel and gone off home when he did not get what he wanted in a trice. Briand thinks that he should have stayed and talked.

Last September, said Briand, he had been approached and was told definitely that the German Chancellor would meet him with the Kaiser's full approval, and that if the Chancellor could not come the emissary would be fully equipped with credentials. He had taken steps to ascertain the German points of view about certain matters, such as Alsace-Lorraine and the German colonies, and he hinted at some neutralisation of a large zone on the Franco-German frontier where there would be no troops or works, and thought that this would lead up to the settlement of the Alsace and Lorraine questions. Germany wished to settle this matter with France directly. As to the German colonies, the paper which he received gave it to be understood that Germany was prepared for many of them to remain *dans les griffes de l'Angleterre*. But M. Ribot would not proceed with this interesting conversation, and so the thing fell through. It had been renewed this last January, but nothing had come of it that he knew. Briand thought that the Allies should have made a declaration at an earlier stage announcing the creation of their League of Peace, defining its aims, explaining the principles of obligatory arbitration which they intended to follow, and stating that they intended to divide up the raw materials of the world amongst each other; and that while our enemies could join the League as equals, they would be refused all share in the raw materials of the world unless they made peace on reasonable terms.

In short, we had not made use of our economic arms—partly because America was anxious about her cotton—any more than we had made use of our diplomatic arms, and he deplored the fact.

Briand did not think that the people of France looked upon the American Army as a Messiah or had any exaggerated view of its powers. They rather regarded America as a vast storehouse of supplies of all kinds, and from this point of view it was priceless. He implied that America was not seriously in the war, but I did not agree. We then went into the question of the Allied War Council, of which I said that instead of becoming an organ for arranging general policy and giving unified direction to the war, it had become an instrument for the executive direction of military operations, which were outside its province, and that it had lost itself in its interference with details, especially on the military side. Briand agreed with this and thought that the Allied Councils had done much better in his day. He went through the history of 1916 and the preparation for 1917, and thought the former year especially good in the sense of preparation and execution of great combined movements. He considered that 1917 had failed in part owing to Russia and Italy, but also in part because the French offensive had not been continued, and that Painlevé had announced the fact in the Chambers, whereupon the Germans had massed against the English, who were unable to break through. We returned to the point about the proper duties of the Allied War Council more than once and always in the same sense.

We said a few things about the new scheme of placing the reserves of the Armies under a Board of Control, and none of us approved of it. Briand thinks a *généralissime* an impracticable ideal, and admits that the new scheme may be directed to the accomplishment of important objects, but is not wisely framed to attain them. How could a *généralissime* at Paris, he said, have prevented the Italians from losing 250,000 men and 3000 guns in three days ?

We had a good talk about the Marne and to whom the victory was due. The idea of standing came up at a Council in Paris, when it was agreed, on Briand's suggestion, and just as the Council was breaking up, to ask Joffre to take this course. He said that he would if the British would move up on his left. This was referred to London, and was approved, subject to the British left being covered. This led to the hasty improvisation of Maunoury's army from all elements at disposal, and its appearance at the critical moment when its attack, which was not suspected by the enemy, was most important. The God of Chance had ruled. Briand referred to the question of personages to whom credit was most due for the victory. He thought that though Joffre did not plan the battle he showed admirable firmness in directing it when it began. There were, in fact, six battles, and they were all successful. Every general who fought only saw his own sector, and thought that he had won the battle, whereas it was the co-operation of all that really won it. It was after Foch's blow in the St. Gond marshes that the German order of retreat was given.

We then discussed Eastern affairs, and the concentric and eccentric schools. I did not tease Briand about Salonika, nor remind him of our conversation in 1916, as I thought it would vex him, but he told us how he had brought L. G. to the view of sending 300,000 men to Salonika in Jan. 1915, and of how this scheme met with the opposition of the French and British Staffs. From this we passed on to the Laibach campaign, which Briand wished the Italians to have prosecuted after they took Gorizia in 1916. I saw that Briand had still not studied the conditions of an advance on Vienna, but as we were not at a Staff Conference, I did not refer to them. From that we branched into a forecast of what history would say of us, and who now alive would say it. He admitted that no records of Cabinet meetings were kept, and when I asked about the records of the secret sessions he said that those of the 1870 war had never been published,

and that the present ones would also remain under seals.[1] Briand was a trifle contemptuous of history, which he wittily described as a lie promoted to the rank of truth by repetition, and he did not know who was keeping full notes of these affairs in Paris. He personally had no papers at all; he had burnt them all. The first thing to learn in politics, said Briand, was that 2 and 2 were not 4, but either 3 or 5, and for a Rothschild they were 22. He admitted that he was glad of a rest. The labours of Parliament and on the Commissions were terrific. They would break down all but the strongest. Le Roy told the story of how he met Briand and Viviani in the street one day. They were disputing about some debate, and Briand was protesting that he was bound to stick to certain principles. 'Alors,' said Viviani, 'Alors appuyons-nous sur les principes. Ils sont surs de céder.'

Briand made a particular point of the total change in the East arising from the collapse of Russia. Austria had now Germany for chief rival. Russia was out of Balkan affairs. Turkey had modern Bulgaria to fear more than Russia. These were great changes, and they were teaching us nothing. The moment had come to fight with all our arms, whether naval, military, diplomatic, economic, religious, or other, but we were not doing so, and the Allied War Council was trying to make itself into a general and that was all. Briand on leaving made many flattering references to my work during the war, and said that I was one of the very few men in Europe who saw clearly. He asked me to see him whenever I was in Paris. Le Roy says that he is an honest man, and has only £240 a year saved from his pay, plus his pay as a deputy.

In the afternoon I went with Le Roy to see the Leave Club at 8 Place de la République. Miss Decima Moore and Parson Blunt took us round. It is for British soldiers and sailors on leave from the front, and is mainly used by our Dominion troops. Baron D'Erlanger has hired the hotel. Some 13,000 men have used it since August last, when it was opened, and

[1] They have since been published in part.

83,000 meals have been served up to the end of December. Some 260 beds are all occupied. It is an invaluable institution and very well managed. The men deposit their money, and have already deposited over £20,000. There are club rooms, newspapers, writing-rooms, billiards, baths, entertainments, and dances. It is self-supporting to a large extent, as the beds are 5s. to 2s. 6d. a night, and meals cost 2s. 6d. dinner and lunch, and 1s. 6d. tea. There are women guides to take the men over Paris, and there are even riding parties as well as theatre parties. The dances are very popular, and the men are supplied with dancing shoes. There were 6000 men at the Club on Christmas Day, and not one case of drunkenness.

Le Roy and I dined together and discussed affairs. The arrival of General Smuts is postponed until Wednesday.

Tuesday, Feb. 5. I was shown a report on Civil Education in the 3rd Canadian Division of General Lipsett. The idea is to institute lectures on general subjects, in order to give men a wide view of their duties as citizens on their return home, and, as soon as active operations stop, to hold classes to help men in their work on their return to civil life.

Educationalists of wide experience are employed, such as Captain Oliver, who had helped to found the University of Saskatchewan. Lipsett proposes that the civil training should be grafted on to the military training, and not be under a separate control, as by working under the military organisation we are alone able to teach all the men. The officers to be employed should be on the Staff of the formation, and must be really able men. They should get into touch with the needs of the labour market and employment agencies, and they should be of great use to the various demobilisation committees. It must be introduced gradually. This movement has my entire sympathy, and we must start it after the war.

Wrote to Gwynne. Tried to do some shopping and found all the shops closed until 1 or 2 P.M. Lunched at the Ritz. Lady Congreve came and sat with me and talked. She is off to work in a French hospital between Nancy and

Luneville, where heavy losses are expected. The French wounded, she says, are still much less well off than ours. She says that the Countess Cécile d'Hautpoul and Elinor Glyn want to make my acquaintance. The d'Hautpoul lady is very attractive. Motored and walked with X. He told me that Duncannon, Wilson's A.D.C., is very anxious about the criticisms which the arrangement about the Higher Command may provoke in England, and said that that terrible fellow, Repington, was in Paris, and would be sure to learn all about it and inform Gwynne. How dreadful! I don't wonder that they are nervous. Duncannon admitted that Amery had drafted the *communiqué*, all except the last paragraph, which was by Clemenceau. It seems to me that Amery and his employers are trying to run a red herring across the scent by a patriotic ebullition which seems to have taken in the Allied capitals. But one story is good till another is told, and we shall see. What will President Wilson and Balfour say of this amateur plunge into the diplomatic china shop?

Looked in to see the Countess Ghislaine de Caraman Chimay and her sister, the Countess Greffuhle. The former has a little leisure, as the Queen of the Belgians has taken her sick son to Mentone. The King was to have gone there to-day, but is delayed to talk with his Ministers about the declaration of independence of Belgian Flanders, which the Boches have got some foolish Flemish people to support, and it is a great worry to the King. Ghislaine is sure that we can have all the Vatican party with us if we negotiate with Austria, but that the French and Italian Freemasons will combine against it. Countess Greffuhle is accused of having put up Painlevé to perquisition the *Action Française* people. He is a great friend of hers. Her husband constantly rates her about it, and when she began to exclaim about the raid the other night when the bombs were falling, he declared that she was merely making use of it as a diversion! It is generally supposed that Bolo will be shot,—in which case I shall win my bet with the postmistress—

that Malvy will get off with *éclat* as every one considers the charge of treachery to be absurd, and that unless better evidence can be produced against Caillaux, who is regarded as *un fou*, he may get off too, or at all events only get a light sentence. The Rue d'Astorg ladies think that Clemenceau will only last two or three months longer, but 'The Tiger' has often disappointed those who offer to sell his skin before he is killed.

Tried to see M. Loucheur, but he is due to start for London. I am to try and call in after lunch to-morrow at the Rue d'Astorg to see General Leman, the Belgian hero of Liége. The ladies say that he is very ill. The Prince of Wales is in Paris. Ghislaine told me that Count Shrinsky, the Duchesse d'Uzès's Austrian friend, is a *très brave homme*. The Duchesse, says Le Roy, has forests which we have to cut down. She interviewed Lord Lovat about it, and exclaimed afterwards that she expected to find an immaculately dressed Peer of the Realm, and was dismayed with Simon because there was an expanse of sock between his leggings and his boots! I must warn Simon to be more particular in his dress if he meets this Duchesse again. The ladies used to speak more reverently of him, and I begin to doubt the Duchesse's judgment if she does not know a man when she meets one. Ghislaine told me to-day that the young Empress of Austria hates the Germans like the devil, and that her suite, like Count Hunyadi, are all of the same way of thinking. The Empress's two brothers are in the Belgian Army, and she wishes that they had been admitted to the English Army and had been now in Italy, as it would have produced a great effect. But we never do anything so sensible!

Le Roy and I dined together. Elinor Glyn came and talked to us. A woman nearing fifty, with good features, and may have been seductive when younger. She is writing two books and a magazine story. She says that it makes a difference of £3000 to her if she publishes a book in a magazine first. America is the place to make money journalistically. She never sells a story under 5d.

a word! She prefers to write in the morning, which is her high tide she says.

Milner was in the Embassy to-day. He admitted that Czernin had tried to talk with L. G., and that our refusal had been due to consideration for Italy. Milner says that the Press have received the *communiqué* very well. I am not surprised, as it bears no relation whatever to the proceedings of the Council. He expects that the first criticism will come from the *Morning Post*. It is highly probable. This evening I induced Le Roy to send a cipher telegram to London to suggest a Grand Cross[1] for General Leman, who has already received the Grand Cross of the Legion and the Leopold. They are slow-thinking folk in London, and appear to have forgotten Leman's heroism and fine attitude.

Wednesday, Feb. 6. Lunched to-day with Prince and Princess Radziwill, Miss Gladys Deacon, and Roman Dmowski, the head of the Polish Committee in Paris. A cheery lunch with much chaff. I liked Miss Deacon, though she is not quite so pretty as her sister the Princess. Dmowski has character, and we agreed to meet at dinner to-morrow. He evidently knows more about the Polish plans than most people, and told me that the Polish Army Corps which has been at Minsk is the only one left intact on the Russian front. Dmowski doubts that we can do anything with Kaiser Karl, and his panacea is to break up Austria.

After lunch motored to Compiègne. Good roads and a pleasant afternoon. Found Clive at the Mission and had a talk. Gave him my views of recent affairs, and he told me that our Army feeling was the same, and that Joffre's chief staff officer had just spoken to him about the decisions of the War Council exactly as I had spoken to Clive, and almost in the same words. He thought that it was all very serious, and the more by reason of the uncertainty of the extent of the powers of the Versailles Council. He thought that Haig and Pétain were quite competent to control the troops on their front, and said that Haig was quite prepared to

[1] General Leman was afterwards given the G.C.M.G.

come and stay at Compiègne so as to be beside Pétain when the pinch came. He was sure that they would get on all right together. He recommended that I should see X. on my return, and also address the Unionist Committee at the House of Commons, and that this would be better than another Press attack, and might do more good.

Dined with General Pétain and his Staff. He is just back from a tour in Alsace. There are plenty of German reserves in rear there, but the ground is very spongy and not ready for an attack yet. Pétain began at once about our effectives, and told me that he was greatly disquieted about our front and had read my articles, with which he entirely agreed. He considered, and had stated at the War Council, that our front was of the greatest importance and that it lacked depth. He knew that our infantry would be one-fourth down this year, and that drafts were lacking to fill up divisions. He said that the figures had been brought out at the Council, and that L. G. had been exceedingly taken to task and roughly handled, but that he had refused to give any satisfaction, and had entrenched himself behind the plea of the danger of social revolution, and had stopped the discussion. *Résultat, zéro.* Pétain had studied him closely and summed up his opinion of him in a curt and striking phrase. Pétain thought the Aleppo expedition fatuity, and said that Clemenceau had been splendid and had cut L. G.'s arguments to ribbons. On the question of the Higher Command, Pétain said that he did not mean to allow Foch and Co. to interfere with his reserves. If they liked to handle the Anglo-French divisions in Italy this was another matter, but I said that their ambitions went much further, whereupon Pétain said that if they interfered with him he would not remain in command. He was sure that Haig and he would agree and could carry on. He required another month to perfect his defences, and Haig three months. He doubted whether the Boches would wait. He had identified 172 divisions for certain on his front, and there were 15 more divisions in Germany training and ready to come up when they were needed. Pétain was down to 100 divisions,

as he told me he would be last October, and was calling in all the men he could find in every quarter. There were no certain indications of the German plans, but he supposed that they would make two great attacks, and then the reserves would be put in according to circumstances. He thought that 220 divisions in all might come against us. The Germans, he said, had attacked the weak points when they were not powerful enough to attack the strong ones, but now this situation had changed, and people ought to understand it. We should have a hard time, and he would regard L. G. as the author of our misfortunes if we failed. He thought my article very courageous, and was much astonished that Gwynne had risked evading the Censorship.

He also, at my request, told me how he had restored the moral of his Armies in June 1917. He had personally visited every division, had spoken to the officers and pointed out their duties to them. He had instituted a regular system of leave for the men, and had done much for their material welfare. It had taken him two months to restore the moral, and a very dangerous moment had at last been successfully passed over.

Pétain also pointed out to me that the most he could accept was that the Franco-British divisions in Italy should be the reserves under Versailles, and that an equivalent number of Italian divisions should be added. He said that Foch is still anxious to deliver a great counter-attack with massed reserves, but that this was now impracticable, and we had only enough to fill up the gaps, if we had even that. He pointed out to me the different position of the combatants, with the Germans able to repair their losses and we unable. He attributed all our troubles to two men, whom he named.

General Anthoine is now Chief of Staff to Pétain. A good, cheery, capable officer, much attached to Haig, under whom he has served. An important fact if Pétain and Haig are left alone to work out their own salvation and ours.

Thursday, Feb. 7. Put up at the Palace Hotel last night. Breakfasted with Clive and the English Mission. We had some talk about the War Council. He told me that one of President Poincaré's Staff had just come in and had been very critical of the arrangement, declaring that it was no solution, as indeed is true. I went on to the 2nd Bureau to see Colonel de Cointet, who was very severe upon us for our failure to keep up our strengths. He says that 177 Boche divisions are now identified in the West, and allows that an uncertain number are reorganising in Germany. He expects 200 to 220, and believes that from Feb. 15 onwards the danger will be very real. The French have dug in, but we have not. He expects various feints, and then the big thing on the Rheims front against the French, and on the Arras front against us. He puts down the Boches at 3,000,000 in the aggregate, and their potential reserves, which may be expended during the year, at 1,500,000. A pretty good packet, and this wretched Premier of ours only talks of social revolutions, and will not even ask the country for the men we need or tell it why we need them. De Cointet says that there is a talk of two Austrian divisions coming, but he does not think much of them, and only believes in Austrian guns. He considers our front extremely important, as Pétain does.

He says that the Boches sent divisions to Italy last October in response to a cry for help from the Austrians, who had expected that all our troops going to Salonika and Palestine were coming against them. As they were there, they cut a dash and knocked out the Italians, but no one was more surprised than the Germans, and no plans were ready for following up the success. De Cointet says that we Allies have 20 more divisions in Italy than the Austrians. Most of Von Below's Army from Italy is now in France, and three of its divisions have been identified. Also Von Hutier's 7th Army from Riga has turned up on Gough's front. The importance of this fact needs no demonstration. The French Armies, from left to right, are

the 6th, 5th, 4th, 2nd, 1st, and 7th. Franchet d'Esperey[1] commands the left group, and de Castelnau the right group. The 3rd Army is now in reserve, and, in all, Pétain has 39 divisions in reserve, which cannot be employed without his permission.

I read the new French text-books on the offensive and the defensive. Very modern, well written, and up to date. I was particularly struck with the division of the troops on the defensive into (1) *Troupes de garde* and *garnisons de sureté* for the first lines; (2) *Troupes de soutien* for precise missions of immediate counter-attack; (3) *Troupes disponibles ou reservées* ready for *contre-attaques d'ensemble* or counter-attacks requiring preparatory actions and the accompaniment of artillery. If the Versailles pack are allowed to deprive Haig and Pétain of No. 3, what chances have they? I notice the most ludicrously false and misleading assertions about the War Council in the *Times*.

Motored back to Paris. Lunched with Bobby Ward and Le Roy. Ward was heavily bombed in Padua the night he was there. Lieut. Hermann called. He was too inquisitive, and I did not say much to him in consequence. Went to tea at the Rue d'Astorg and met General Leman, the hero of Liége. A most striking but much bent figure, as of one who has suffered, with courtly manners, and great nobility of character. He gave us many of his experiences, and a large party sat round and listened. Jules Roche told me that L. G. was returning to-morrow to draw closer the links, whatever that may mean, but I can get no confirmation of it. I hear that L. G. means to put Milner into the W.O. in place of Derby, in which case Robertson is nearly sure to be evicted, and the first measure is to be the reduction of his power and the issue of orders through the S. of S. instead of the C.I.G.S. We shall then have completed our plans to lose the war.

Dmowski dined with me, and we talked Poland alone

[1] Known to our soldiers in the East, at all later date, as Desperate Franky.

before dinner and then at dinner. He expects a revolution in Austria by May. He is President of the Polish Society, consisting of six or eight persons who are, he says, recognised by the Governments of England, France, Italy, and the U.S., as the official spokesmen of Poland. He brought me his privately printed book on the problems of Austria and Eastern Europe, and it looks interesting. The Poles desire our sympathy and practical support. Dmowski says that the war can only be won by breaking up Austria and recognising the independence of her various nationalities. Then Germany will be isolated and her road to the East cut. But, he says, most people here still think that in Austria people speak Austrian, and it is not a question whether diplomacy is bad, but whether it is null.

Le Roy, who was also dining with me, told the story that Briand had narrated to us the other day at lunch, namely, of the Caillaux secret papers in the Florence safe marked 'Rubicon.' Briand had reminded us that before the third Napoleon's *coup d'état* of December, he and Morny and Persigny had solemnly opened the casket in which the plan was concealed, and the papers taken out were also marked 'Rubicon.' This led us to note the imitative habits of our time, and to discuss how much we draw from within ourselves, and how much from outside sources. Dmowski had been a member of the Duma at the time of the Russian revolution, and told us that the members used to go to the library, cut out the speeches of Mirabeau and Danton, and come back and spout them in the Duma. I thought that Mirabeau and Co. also drew their speeches largely from the classics, so it came to this, that there was nothing new under the sun, and that we were a race of monkeys.

Dmowski is an observant person. I enjoyed his saying that Seton-Watson had the spirit of a midwife; he cared nothing for people who existed, but only for new nationalities which he could bring forward in his own hands and present to the world.

Left for London, 11.40 P.M. Bobby Ward gave me a berth again. A friend in need. All the other berths taken.

It has turned wet. I met General Peyton March on board, the new acting Chief of Staff of the American Army, a tall, rather grim, and soldierlike man resembling the typical Uncle Sam. No cabin had been kept for him, so I invited him and his A.D.C. to share mine. We had a good talk. I was glad to hear that they had adopted the French system of four bureaus at Pershing's Headquarters, instead of the impossible system which prevailed when I was there last. Now Pershing will be free to control operations instead of being immersed in administrative details as he was formerly. General March has been here since July last. He should be of great use to the President. He told me that he was coming back again, and I am glad, as he is a fine type. He also told me that if President Wilson thought it wise to come to Europe he would come in spite of all the constitutional lawyers who might declare that he could not come.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE *MORNING POST* PROSECUTION

Return to London—My article on the War Council—The Tories and Mr. Lloyd George—Summoned to Bow Street—The case part heard—Dismissal of Sir W. Robertson—The hearing concluded—Shoals of letters of approval and sympathy—General Robertson on these events—A letter from General Allenby—The Blind Officers' Home—Visit to Ugbrooke Park—Sir F. E. Smith on America—Mr. Arthur Henderson's views—Bombs and parties—Admiral Sims on the U-boats—General Dessino's uninvited guests—Sir W. Robertson on the late War Council—Conversation with Mr. Asquith on the military situation, March 16—Another talk with Mr. Arthur Henderson.

Saturday, Feb. 9. Met Gwynne at the Bath Club. We compared notes and experiences. After I had told him what I had learned, he told me that there was a big row on here, and that he hoped the Army Council were all going to stand firm. Asquith has stated that he will speak on the debate on the Address next Tuesday, and Gwynne and I agreed that I should write and expose the Paris proceedings either Monday or Tuesday. Gwynne is going to see Derby and try to hearten him up, and is all for fighting this matter out. Asquith says that the war can only end by fighting, negotiation, or by the proletariat making an end of it, and he still believes that it can be won by fighting.

Sunday, Feb. 10. Finished an article on the late War Council and sent it off. I hear that Lady Bathurst says that she will be quite content to be locked up with us.

Monday, Feb. 11. This morning there came out my article on the Versailles War Council, describing what had happened about the three main subjects discussed. The

Post has a good leader on it. Great pluck on Gwynne's part to insert it. Lunched with Lady X., and had a good talk to her about Derby, telling her that he was the appointed victim of the Downing Street Camarilla, when Robertson was removed, and that if the Army Council did not stick together he would regret it. I said that Milner was to succeed him, and that if Derby went with the whole Army Council over a matter of principle he would stand high, whereas if he let R. be sacrificed and stayed on, he would be put out in a fortnight amidst general derision. She is to speak to him this evening. Went on to the *Morning Post* and saw Gwynne. The Censor refused my article, so Gwynne made certain changes in it and wrote to the Censor that he hoped he had met their views. Actually he had not changed much. What will happen now is not clear. Anyhow it is something for us not to be in prison after our indiscipline this morning, but as we acted solely in the public interest I suppose that we shall be all right in the end.

Tuesday, Feb. 12. Met a friendly M.P. at a club, and found him as determined to take the gloves off as we are. He was at G.H.Q. last Sunday. He tells me that the Unionists' War Committee in the Commons passed strong resolutions warmly condemning the attacks on the generals, and forbidding L. G. to take Winston into the War Cabinet. L. G. fumed and resented the interference of any party in the House, whereupon Salisbury, who took the resolutions to L. G., gently pointed out to L. G. that he owed his position to Unionist support. L. G. declared that he utterly disapproved the attacks on the generals, in which case it is a pity that he did not say so before, during all the months that these attacks have been proceeding. My friend says that L. G. has tried them very highly on previous occasions, and he promises me to get his friends together and to support me in the debate. I gave him, again, the main points for L. G. to answer. Met Gwynne later. He says that Derby has been dining and breakfasting with L. G., and is most shaky. Nothing from Lady X., but

the *Post* leader this morning tells Derby plainly that unless he stands up for the Army Council he will be discredited for ever, and this is the truth. Lunched with Lockett, who promises to bail me out if I am arrested, and to arrange for my defence. I took my *Memoirs* to Constable, and they will now read them through and advise me. The *Manchester Dispatch* reported this morning that I had been arrested. The *Times* almost insinuated this morning that I ought to be. Gwynne and I are quite content to stand the racket, and agree that we have done all that we can to enlighten the country and save the Army from defeat, and that we can now only calmly abide the result. I heard to-day from some one that Haig says he is not worrying much about his reserves as he has not got any. In the late afternoon there arrived at Maryon two Scotland Yard men to inquire whether I had written my article in the *Post* of Feb. 11. I gave them the particulars. Evidently the Government are going to prosecute.

Wednesday, Feb. 13. Lunched with the Ian Hamiltons, and then I sat on a Tribunal all the afternoon. On my return home I found that the police had been after me again, as they had been after Gwynne, and they came in later with two summonses for me to appear at Bow Street before a magistrate next Saturday, the charges being that I published information regarding 'plans and conduct of military operations' and 'military dispositions,' all of which accusations are false. Dined with the Londonderrys, who were very nice to me. Princess Helena, Lady Massereene, and one or two more. A very pleasant talk. C. wishes me to defend myself, and I should prefer to do so.

Thursday, Feb. 14. Nearly all day with the lawyers. Gave Mr. Poole, of Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, 10 Ely Place, Holborn, all my story in the morning, and in the afternoon Gwynne and I, with Poole, met Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., at his chambers, and with him, as junior counsel, was Mr. Patrick Hastings, a very smart young barrister. We went through the case, making out all the worst features of it,—as I believe counsel do—and I was so disgusted that I told Gwynne when

we walked away together that I would much rather defend myself, that one might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb, and that if I had to be convicted I wished to tell the country the whole truth in court and not mince matters. Telephoned the same thing to Poole in the evening, and he tried to dissuade me.

Friday, Feb. 15. Poor dear old Lockett Agnew died this morning after a very sharp attack of *angina pectoris*. A great character, honest as the day, always buoyant in spirits, the first expert in the art world, and the kindest and best soul imaginable. I am so sorry for Joe. Lunched with X., who is all for me to defend myself and to take the big line of the freedom of political criticism. In the afternoon at Tindal Atkinson's again. I had written down the line I wished to take and read it out. The lawyers were now more alive to the situation, and Poole thinks that we have an even-money chance. Gwynne begs me to leave all the defence to Atkinson, who is a fine-looking and distinguished man with a good presence, so I felt bound to agree, as the *Post's* interests have to be considered; but I only agreed reluctantly.

Saturday, Feb. 16. Went to Bow Street with Gwynne at 11.30. We were snapshotted by the cameras all the way. Pat Guthrie is told that there has been 'no such crowd at Bow Street since Crippen'—the famous murderer! There came to look on a great number of friends and many ladies. There were fifty shorthand reporters. Sir Gordon Hewart presented the case for the prosecution. He is Solicitor-General, and was very moderate and courteous in his speech, making his points well. The Director of the Press Bureau, Sir E. T. Cook, gave evidence. We adjourned at 12.40 till Thursday next, and were again pursued by the camera men as we left. An air raid after dinner, and it went on till nearly 11 P.M.

Sunday, Feb. 17. The news that Sir William Robertson has been practically dismissed caused me to write an appreciative article on his valuable services. Then went on to the Reform Club and had an hour with Mr. Massingham to

exchange ideas. Dined with Lord Wimborne in Arlington Street and found Freddy Guest, Lord D'Abernon, Massingham again, Lady Gwendeline and Jack Churchill, Miss Phyllis Boyd, Mrs. Montagu, and Lady Diana Manners—four attractive ladies. Mrs. M. hopes that M. will be home from India by April. The party discussed my case and gave me some valuable hints. As we were finishing dinner another air raid began, and W. made us all adjourn to a vaulted chamber below, where we remained till the worst was over. We amused ourselves in forming a Cabinet of ladies, as all the political males appeared to us to be exhausted. Here they are :—

Prime Minister . . .	Lady Desborough.
Foreign Secretary . . .	Lady Essex.
War Secretary . . .	Lady Pembroke.
First Lady	Evelyn, Marchioness of Downshire.
Home Secretary . . .	Mrs. Winston Churchill.
Board of Good Works . .	Miss Phyllis Boyd.
Vice-Reine of India . .	Lady Diana Manners.
Propaganda	Lady Cunard.
Chancellor of Exchequer . .	Mrs. George Keppel.
Financial Secretary . .	Mrs. Ronald Greville.
Board of Agriculture . .	Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry.
Board of Trade . . .	Mrs. McKenna.
Lady President of the Council .	Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland.
Minister of Blockade . .	Lady Ridley.
Secretary for India . .	Mrs. Montagu.
Secretary for the Colonies .	Lady Gwendeline Churchill.
Vice-Reine of Ireland . .	Lady Wimborne.
Chief Secretary for Ireland .	Lady Carson.
Local Government Board .	The Duchess of Marlborough.
President, the Air Board .	Lady Drogheda.
Mistress of the Robes . .	Mrs. John Astor.
Secretary for Scotland . .	Lady Mar and Kellie.
Attorney-General . . .	Miss Beatrice Mattheson.
Solicitor-General . . .	Miss Joan Poynder.
Minister of Munitions . .	Lady Granard.

President, Board of Education	Miss Violetta Thurstan.
Lady Chancellor	Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton.
Mistress of the Ceremonies	Lady Wolverton.
Minister of Health	Lady D'Abernon.
Postmistress-General	Lady Lytton.
Chancellor of the Duchy	Lady Islington.
Leader of the Opposition	Mrs. Asquith.

Some of the ladies refused to serve with others, but we ignored their protests. Lady Diana would go to India because she had fair hair, and for the sake of contrast. Got home after a crush in the Tube. The platforms five deep with women and children taking refuge, and some five more rows standing, largely men.

Monday, Feb. 18. Wrote my remarks on the Solicitor-General's speech and sent them off to Mr. Poole. Lunched with Mrs. Ronny Greville and walked round with her to see 'The Pattisson Children,' by Lawrence, at Bond Street—a fine thing. A pleasant talk at lunch. Robertson's resignation is denied by him, but in the evening it is announced that he has taken the Eastern Command. The promise of a big row in Parliament is therefore not likely to be kept.

Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb. 19-20. Much time spent with the barristers and lawyers preparing our case for Thursday. Atkinson is warming up. Poole and Hastings very good and helpful. Many letters of sympathy and approval from all sides. L. G. explains the Versailles plans to the Commons and gives me a good opening, which I shall take presently.

Thursday, Feb. 21. At Bow Street again. Atkinson made an effective speech in our defence, showing clearly that we had not contravened the regulations, and that all I had said was in the German and other foreign Press before I had said it. The magistrate fined us each £100 and costs, for the technical offence of disobeying the Censorship. But we stated our case very plainly, and all the papers are full of it. A great many people came to look on. Many messages of congratulation in the evening.

Friday, Feb. 22. Masses of cuttings from all parts of the country about our case, and I have not yet seen one word of hostile comment. The letters of approval of our attitude continue to flow in. Dined with Lady Drogheda and Lady Paget at Claridge's, and went to see an amusing American play called *The Whole Truth*, which kept the house in roars of laughter. Sir Vincent Caillard joined us there.

Sunday, Feb. 24. General Sir F. Maurice writes that he is ordered not to talk with me about the war, but says, 'I have the greatest admiration for your courage and determination, and am quite clear that you have been the victim of political persecution such as I did not think was possible in England.' I write a stiff criticism of L. G.'s explanation in the Commons last Tuesday of the Versailles decisions. Dined with Belle Herbert and her two boys Sidney and Michael, and Juliet Duff, in Carlton House Terrace. A very pleasant evening. They screamed over my story of Robertson's remark that he and I 'could no more afford to be seen together just now than we could afford to be seen walking down Regent Street with a whore!' Another story of the umbrella which R.'s private secretary gave him on his birthday. 'Umph!' said R., 'very nice. I suppose that Jellicoe is using his now, isn't he?'

Monday, Feb. 25. Lunched at the Ian Hamiltons'. They say that if R. had asked for 48 hours to reflect before he accepted the Eastern Command, Derby would have been out of office. R. is away. Met Lady Kitty Somerset, who declares that she is devoted to L. G., and I said that he was not playing the game by the Army and the generals. Went on to see Gwynne, who is much pleased with my criticism of L. G.'s last speech. It will appear in a day or two. Gwynne agrees with me that we should then suspend criticism, having done all in our power to alter things regarding (1) the command, (2) effectives, and (3) the side-shows. We think that, journalistically, we shall stand in a very strong position during the approaching campaign. Plumer is coming back from Italy to take over his old 2nd Army. Cavan takes his place in Italy. Rawly's 4th Army is to be absorbed.

Gwynne has shoals of letters, all approving of our action, and several people offer to pay our fines, showing their practical sympathy. Lady Bathurst writes that she heartily approves of all that we have done. She has been quite splendid in all this affair, and so has Lord Bathurst.

Tuesday, Feb. 26. Got through all my letters thanking sympathisers. Wrote an article on 'The Russian Tragedy.' The Germans are invading from Dvinsk towards Petrograd, and meeting with little resistance, while they are also joining hands with the Ukraine in the South, with the double advantage of smashing Bolshevism and getting bread. The cause of the Entente in Russia is hopelessly compromised, and poor Poland is in a terrible situation. Such is the inevitable result of the lunatic revolution and the anarchy which it has brought in its train. Lunched with Mrs. George Keppel; Violet and Sonia, Lady Randolph, Mr. McKenna, Lords Ribblesdale, Lurgan, and Ilchester, and a few more. Lady Randolph and I agree that if we began again at 17 we should do the same as we had done, only more so. Then we decided that we could not have done more so if we had tried. Violet very good company.

Dined in the evening with the Maguires in Cleveland Square, and found Lady Edmund Talbot, Lord Peel, Mrs. Ronny Greville, Lord Lamington, Mrs. Keppel, and others. Mrs. Maguire told me that a lot of the War Cabinet had come in the evening before the last debate, all abusing me and expecting to be upset. They had evidently told her that Clemenceau had talked to me. I spoke freely about my case and criticised the Government hotly. Peel said, to-night, that in the case of every Prime Minister in recent years it had been said that he could not be replaced, as it is said now, and that the change was always quite easy. Of no one was it said more than of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and few people now remembered that he had been Prime Minister at all. Maguire also said that he supposed that Milner and Curzon remained in office under L. G. from an exaggerated estimate of their own importance.

A letter from Robertson, who is in the country for another week :—

25th February 1918.

My dear Repington,—I shall return to London in about a week's time, after which I shall have a good deal of inspection work to do, but I will not fail to arrange a talk with you. My present feelings are that I am more or less retired from the Public Service, except so far as my own particular Command is concerned. I am heartily sick of the whole sordid business of the past month. Like yourself, I did what I thought was best in the general interests of the Country, and the result has been exactly as I expected would be the case. I am in no way surprised at the turn events have taken, in fact I felt sure from the first that they would be as they have proved to be. The Country has just as good a Government as it deserves to have. I feel that your sacrifice has been great, and that you have a difficult time in front of you. But the great thing is to keep on a straight course, and then one may be sure that good will eventually come out of what may now seem to be evil.—Yours very truly,

W. Robertson.

A letter from Allenby of some interest, particularly the end of it, in which he answers a question of mine :—

General Headquarters,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
4th February 1918.

My dear Repington,—I was very pleased to get your letter of 18th Decr., and I thank you for your congratulations and good wishes.

I was deeply interested in your summary of affairs in Europe. Things there seem not to be as cheerful as could be wished. But I feel confident that we shall keep our end up till the Americans can pull their weight. Here, we are in the wet season ; during which there falls, in four months, as much rain as falls in England in twelve. My roads and railways, shaky at the best, can't stand all that rain ; and I am busied with their development and repair, as my subsistence depends on their work.

Meanwhile, I am consolidating and improving my positions N. of Jerusalem and Jaffa. Later, I may undertake something bigger, if it fits in with general policy. The Turk is not aggres-

sive. He is digging in, on the line Tul-Keran–Nablus. I don't think he has much over 30,000 men on the line from the sea, W. of Tul-Keran and Jericho. Germans, to the extent of one regiment of three battalions, and some half dozen batteries, are in this country and on that line ; but I don't believe that the two German divisions exist. I fancy that they are only muck. The Turks talk a lot about retaking Jerusalem, but they want the Germans to do it for them, and I imagine that the Germans will not commit many troops to that enterprise at present. They will probably confine themselves to the defence of Damascus. The Turks made a determined effort to retake Jerusalem on the 27th Decr., and subsequent days ; and we gave them a terrible hammering, driving them back seven miles and more, and consolidating our positions (N. of Bireh). We buried more than 1000 of their dead, and took 700 prisoners. As regards operations in this theatre, balanced against those in the West, I recognise that the West is the essential battle-ground, where victory will be decisive. Make sure of victory there. If, however, you undertake further operations here and in Mesopotamia, they must be carried out with adequate forces. A set-back here, now, would be disastrous ; and, whatever strategical purists may say, if Egypt were lost, the link that binds the East to the West is snapped—probably for ever.—Ever yours,

EDMUND ALLENBY.

Wednesday, Feb. 27. Lunched with Mrs. Astor, Sir Campbell Stewart, and Mrs. Cecil Higgins ; enjoyable as always. Was to have dined at Lady Paget's, but could not manage it. D. S. MacColl, Keeper of the Wallace Collection, dined at Maryon, and we had a pleasant talk in the evening.

Thursday, Feb. 28. The Censor has had orders from his masters to cut out political criticism from my article 'Versailles and London,' and Gwynne is objecting strongly. Lunched with Lady Juliet, and we had a good chat about books, people, and things. She has decided that she cannot fall in love with anybody while she has hospital accounts to do, and I said the war took up too much of one's time to leave enough to satisfy a pretty woman. We plan a little dinner, with Mrs. Astor and General Trenchard to join us. Had tea with Lady X. at her father's house, and

found that we agreed on most matters connected with present-day politics. Her father is ready to give up his seat to a mutual friend of ours in certain events.

Dined at the Blind Officers' Home, 21 Portland Place, with Sir Arthur Pearson and some 30 or 40 blind officers. They all seemed to get on wonderfully well with their dinners, and quite without help. The conversation was just as though they could all see, and Sir Arthur on one side of me and a Canadian Colonel on the other were very agreeable. I had been asked to talk to them about the war after dinner, when we adjourned into a comfortable sitting-room. I was a little anxious how I should feel with 30 or 40 pairs of sightless eyes directed on me, and thought that I might suffer from stage-fright. But all went well, and I took them round the world with our armies and fleets and told them the position. Then they asked many questions, and I answered to the best of my ability. A most agreeable evening, and they seemed to be a charming lot of fellows, keenly interested in all that was going on. Sir Arthur told me that the great thing was to keep them up with the times, and that they would discuss amongst themselves for a week all the points that I had raised. He thought my little address was ideal. Derby, Winston, Auckland Geddes, and the Bishop of London had been amongst the guests who had preceded me in former weeks. One feels the deepest compassion for these gallant souls, most of whom are in the flower of their youth, and I promised to go to St. Dunstan's one afternoon to see more of the blind cases.

I shall go away for a few days to Devonshire. There is nothing more that I can do except to watch the inevitable consequences of the War Cabinet's folly during the next few months. They have starved the Army for men, have dispersed our military resources about the world, and now have to face the consequences of their follies. They have dismissed the safest guide in strategy after refusing to listen to his warnings, and they have prosecuted me for showing them up. Upon the Army and the country will fall the retribution which Lloyd George and his War Cabinet alone deserve.

Saturday to Tuesday, March 2-5. Went down to Ugbrooke Park, Chudleigh, Devon, to stay with Lady Clifford. A big house among the hills and dales, not beautiful outside, but with well-proportioned rooms and a great deal of handsome furniture, tapestries, and pictures. A pleasant party there, and others arrived on Monday. We had a good walk over the hills on Sunday, and played tennis all Monday. A very pleasant rest. Many treasures at Ugbrooke—nearly all old family things. I liked the Lelys in the dining-room, especially those of Catherine of Braganza and of Monmouth. There is a good Lely of Thomas, first Lord Clifford, Charles II.'s famous Treasurer, a notable and active personage as we learn from the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn. There are some Romneys, a Reynolds, a lot of interesting old prints, and some fine silver. The picture of Fair Rosamund, who was a Clifford and Henry II.'s mistress, interested me. She looks like an under-housemaid, but I hope, for the credit of Royal taste, that the artist maligned her. There are still among the deer in the park some of the 'white harts of Ugbrooke' of which Dryden wrote. The place must be very beautiful in the summer.

Wednesday, March 6. Wrote an article for Gwynne on 'The Western Front.' I met Will Meredith and his partner at Constable's.

Thursday, March 7. A terrible lot of correspondence. Letters of congratulation and sympathy still coming in, and more offers of cheques to pay for my defence. I have seen no hostile criticism at all, though piles of cuttings come to me from all the Press of the United Kingdom. Lunched with two friends. One had to run off early to a hospital, and X. and I remained to talk. He told me that the Versailles Board had already broken down in practice. Haig had refused to allow it to shift his troops about. I expect that Foch will find Pétain just as hard to move. So this is what all the gammon has come to, and X. says that the reduction of the Versailles Staff is now admitted because it will now not have the duty of carrying out large movements, such as the transfer of British reserves to

Verdun! X. says that Rhondda will probably go, as the food position is dreadful. The whole thing is a hopeless muddle. It has been the fixing of inadequate maximum prices that has stopped supplies at their source. He does not think the evil beyond repair, but says that there is only wheat till August 24 next, and that 10 horse ships have to go to Burma to load rice to make up the deficit from August to our next harvest. Rhondda got 1,200,000 cattle killed last autumn against advice, and then accused the Army of taking the meat, though it had only 60,000 carcases. Rhondda has established no refrigerating plant all this time, and meat has to be passed through it before it goes into cold storage. It is because the French established the refrigerating plant that they are so flush of meat. A curator of Japanese prints likely to be made the cheese controller! Butter is wanting because it takes 2¼ gallons of milk to make 1 lb. of butter, and the fixed price of the butter, 2s. 6d., is less than the milk costs. X. says that almost everything has been equally muddled. The Irish are feeding their pigs on oats. What a pack of imbeciles we have got! We discussed Carson's intervention yesterday in the Commons, his defence of Jellicoe, and his almost open attack on Geddes and Lloyd George. A long afternoon at the Tribunal. At night a Boche air raid from 12 to 1.15 A.M. The Gothas passed over us and a few bombs fell fairly near. About 60 casualties. A shell struck my house, all round a window out of which I was looking, and a large piece of the shell was found in the morning. My friends say that it is the *Kindergarten* shooting at Maryon from St. James's Park. But the *Kindergarten* could never hit anything it aimed at. I must ask our guns on 'The Spaniards' to shoot back at No. 10.

Saturday, March 9. Lunched with Lady Massereene at 55 Eaton Place. Found there Mrs. Peto, Miss Norton, Lady Mary, Sir F. E. Smith,—just got back from America—and the Comte de Noailles. A most amusing lunch, in which the Attorney-General and I chaffed each other about the *Morning Post* prosecution and the Government.

F. E. said that after his return a fresh question had come up of a renewed prosecution, but that he had not approved of it after my case had been tried. We had a good wrangle about it all in a good-humoured way and told each other our minds. F. E. declared that he had been loyal to Asquith and was now loyal to L. G., and would do his best to defend the Government. I said that I would defend the Government if in his place, but admitted no loyalty except to the country. F. E.'s book on his American experiences just coming out. He only saw President Wilson once. He found the States united and determined about the war wherever he went. His skipper heard the Boche submarines talking to each other on his return home, and a big ship was cut out of the convoys which preceded and followed them. He was very flattering to the value of my past work about the war. He said that L. G. had completely dished the Unionist War Committee over their Press resolution, by going to them and telling them pretty plainly that the type of man he wanted for propaganda was not to be found in the Committee, but was to be found in Northcliffe, Beaverbrook and Co., leaving the Committee convulsed with laughter. F. E. says that Ulster's position is unchanged, and that as all the rest of Ireland is becoming Sinn Fein and pro-German, there is all the better reason for Ulster's intractable attitude. But F. E. was critical of Carson, whose speciality, he said, was resignation. He evidently does not like Carson's attitude about Jellicoe, but I do. De N. says that the Boches have 184 divisions now in France. They have eight more on the Austrian front, and it is a question where they will go. All attention is just now directed to the question of Japan and Siberia! Fagalde is in Paris, and Clemenceau, with all the Versailles pack, comes here on Monday.

Sunday, March 10. Mr. and Mrs. Gwynne lunched at Maryon. A lovely spring day. Gwynne says that the cheques sent to meet our expenses amount to over £1000 already. He is, of course, returning them with thanks.

Lord X. writes to me that David Davies, M.P., the friend of L. G., went to Paris some months ago as an ambassador furnished with a letter to Painlevé demanding the recall of Sarrail. He insisted upon being present at a Council of Ministers presided over by Poincaré. Le Roy chaperoned him as he could speak no French. He was in uniform as a major, sat at the right hand of the President of the Republic, and produced his ultimatum. It is lucky for him Clemenceau was not there! Are we living through the greatest tragedy of all history, or are we all supers in a comic opera?

Monday, March 11. Met the Labour leader, Arthur Henderson, M.P. About fifty-five and well preserved. A strongish face with hard lines. We had a political talk. He holds that if Stockholm had come off, the Russians would still be in. H. says that with the alternative vote he expected 280 Labour members at the next General Election, but as he had not got it he counted on only 100 to 120. He had only 38 in his party now, and about a dozen of them were in the Government or with L. G. He admitted that his party had been squared by L. G. when the latter came in, partly by the promise of Cabinet posts and partly by promises about the nationalisation of various industries. Asquith had not credited that either the Unionists or Labour would join L. G., though H. had warned him to the contrary. If a fresh Coalition Government were formed he might join it, but not on such terms that they could do nothing except by resigning. If he ever formed a Government, he talked of J. H. Thomas, Clynes, Anderson, Smillie, Ramsay Macdonald, and Lansbury as his colleagues. Not much chance of Unionist or Liberal collaboration with the last three! He spoke unpleasantly about Ulster, vowing that he would impose the majority wishes on the North, but I told him that he would not do so without fighting.

Tuesday, March 12. I began a reply to Mr. Bonar Law's review of the war on March 7. Dined with Lady Juliet and the Pembrokes. Lady Juliet looking very handsome.

Reggie ever so much better. He probably leaves next week for Japan via America, with Sir Arthur Paget, to present a F.M.'s baton to the Emperor of Japan, and he hopes to go on to Siberia if the Japanese send troops there. At about 9 P.M. Juliet had a message from somewhere to say that the Zepps. were moving off the Dutch coast, but they went to Yorkshire and did not favour us. Bee says that she gave a dance for the young Prince of Wales on the night of the last air raid, and that no one turned a hair, and all of them went on dancing without taking any notice. But a shrapnel shell came through the skylight of the kitchen, and the cook made for the safe, with her best hat and her money in her hand! Juliet said that Belloc and Chesterton dined with her the same night and were so absorbed by their own conversation that they did not hear the bombs. Bee is resuming her hospital work at Wilton, where she has now sixty beds for officers. The library and dining-room will now be filled with them. She is only keeping three spare rooms in the big house for her personal guests. Soothsayers and precocious infants are prophesying the end of the war in April. It will have to hurry up.

Wednesday, March 13. Finished a severe criticism of the Cabinet for its conduct of the war. Went down to Agnew's and saw a beautiful early portrait by Rembrandt of himself. Our counter-battery officers tell me that the German heavies are moving north. An interesting piece of news which looks like an attack on us.

Thursday, March 14. Lunched with Olive; Theresa Lady Londonderry, Lady Leslie, Dodo Benson, and some others. Wish that I could recall the amusing stories told. One, of a dance given by Lady Lavery at an hotel. A guest arrives and says to a servant, 'Where can I find Lady Lavery?' 'Downstairs, first turning on the right, sir.' Another, of King Edward's fury at Queen Victoria's funeral at seeing Mrs. Asquith in a yellow fur. 'It was horrible! I have never seen a cat that colour, but it certainly *was* cat.' Another, of a famous peeress who had married an admirer of twenty years' standing and of whom some one said 'she had

made an honest man of him at last.' Various stories of John Morley, including Rosebery's lament that M. had never been delivered of a man-child as it might have made him more human. Recollections of Lady Randolph's youth and of her beauty and fascination, which were extraordinary. I was told that the Home Office had asked the War Office to seize the *Morning Post* plant and to dismantle it. The W.O. had refused, as they said that my article had not told the Boches anything that they did not know. They asked why the Home Office did not act, as they had powers. They replied that Sir G. Cave, the Home Secretary, might not approve !

Dined with Lady Paget; Lady Ridley, Mrs. Rupert Beckett, Evan Charteris, Sir F. E. Smith, the American Admiral Sims, and Lord Charles Montagu. The Admiral told me that the Boches had now about 160 U-boats, but rarely more than 8 or 10 cruising at once, as it was a most trying service, and they were often in port for 30 to 60 days repairing and resting crews. No more volunteers now offered themselves, and the crews had to be ordered to join. Our convoy system, of which he has been a strong advocate, had compelled the U-boats to cruise nearer to our shores off Brest, Land's End, and the north of Ireland. It was when the convoys broke up and our merchant ships went to their separate ports that most of the losses occurred. I asked why every convoy, with full escort, did not all go to one port, but it seems that it is inconvenient. Not more so than being sunk, I should think. The Americans are turning out 6 or 7 destroyers a month and will soon have 8 or 10. There are 160 on the stocks. The Ford 200-ton boats will soon be delivered at the rate of one a day. A cheery time in store for the U-boats, I hope. Sir F. E. told us some more of his American experiences. He had given fifty-two interviews, and all were fairly reported except one by a Sinn Feiner, which was abominably untrue. It had done him harm. The Hearst papers had reported in huge headlines that he had been recalled because he was made to say of the Irish Convention that it was just

assembled to talk. At one dinner where he had prepared his speech carefully, Roosevelt was down to speak. It was important for F. E. to get his speech out in time for the morning papers, so he asked Roosevelt how long he would take, and when Roosevelt said half an hour, F. E. begged him to speak first. Roosevelt accepted and took an hour and twenty minutes, with the result that not a word of F. E.'s speech reached the Press in time. F. E. had selected one of eight typists and had brought her to England to take down his book on America in shorthand during the voyage. He dictated all the morning and she typed it all the afternoon. He had presented her with £100 and sent her back.

F. E. asked me whether I had fallen out with Northcliffe or Dawson when I left the *Times*. I said that I had had no personal disagreement with Northcliffe, and that my quarrel was with Dawson. F. E. said that when the trouble arose about the *Times* alarmist telegram after Mons, he and Dawson had both made mistakes, and he gave me the reasons why he had cut Dawson ever since.

Lady Ridley says that she has lost half a stone during the war, but that she will only despair when deprived of cigarettes and biscuits. Evan Charteris at home from the Tanks for four months at the Bar.

Friday, March 15. Lunched with the Pembrokes, Lady Juliet, Lord and Lady Anglesey, and General Lowther. Reggie very sure that we shall beat the Boches in the West, and that invasion is impossible. Lowther tells me that Admiral Wemyss's standard of potential invaders has been now raised by him from 30,000 to 60,000. I like the way these folk chop and change as if they were playing roulette! Meanwhile the reserve divisions at home have been broken up for France. Anglesey has joined Robertson's Staff. Went on to meet General Dessino. He wants me to support the Japanese plan for Siberia, and thinks that if the Japs get as far as Irkutsk it will do to give the loyal elements in Russia a chance. But he wants us to make sure that Japan will not stay in Siberia, and thinks that she may be compensated in Manchuria.

He says that on the night of the last air raid there was a furious knocking at his door. He was in bed in a short shirt, as Russians, he says, never wear pyjamas, and he went to open the door when in rushed a foreign diplomat and presented his French wife, paying no attention to Dessino's embarrassment and praying for sanctuary! Dessino says that the Great Russians and the Ukrainians have long disliked each other, and that the latter speak a different dialect. He doubts whether the Germans will get much grain as the fields of the landlords are untilled, and the peasants will bury their grain and will only sell for gold. He is sure that Russia will revive some day, and says that she is not fit for republican institutions.

I saw Sir William Robertson at York House for the first time since his dismissal. He was looking well and cheery. He said that he had found that he had more friends than he knew, but fewer on whom he could count than he expected. Everybody had told him to stand firm, but few, except Gwynne and I, had stood by him when he did so. R. said that Foch, at Versailles, had been good about our strengths, and that Clemenceau had evidently posted him up in what to say. L. G. had replied in the sense that Clemenceau had told me, and Foch's answer had been good, when L. G. got up in a furious rage saying that he would not remain in the Council if his acts were to be criticised by a foreign general. He had appealed to the President, and Clemenceau, while saying that Foch had a right to speak, threw oil on the troubled waters. But L. G. was white, heated, and looked like a ruffled bird, all of a heap. He was given a very bad time, and every one was against him.

The next day Aleppo came up, and Clemenceau began by saying that after the previous day's discussion of numbers and its result, there could, of course, be no question of Aleppo, whereupon L. G. got up and began an impassioned defence of it, talking the usual tommy-rot for half an hour. Clemenceau then gave him a great dressing-down, saying that it was impossible to talk of such follies when the Germans had nine

French departments in their hands and were within sixty miles of Paris. He poured scorn on the plan, and drove in point after point, leaving L. G. smaller and smaller until he was almost shrivelled up. L. G., in fact, had never received such a dusting in his life.

As for Versailles, R. thought that nobody really wanted it or believed in it. R.'s own plan was the only tenable one. He heard that the Italians did not like the present plan at all. A plan which placed two generals in command at the front and a third in command of the reserves was damned by its own inherent futility. He thought that L. G., having secured his, R.'s, disappearance, would soon throw over the Versailles scheme. He said that L. G., instead of being pleased with Allenby's campaign, had fumed because the G.S., unwilling to prophesy the result of a battle, had not guaranteed the occupation of Jerusalem on any fixed day, and L. G. had accused both R. and Allenby of exaggerating difficulties in order to prevent the campaign from taking place. R. said that he, R., had never favoured the Palestine campaign, and that there were plenty of papers to prove it. We could not spare the men for these luxuries till we were safe in France.

R. had begun his inspections of the S.E. garrisons, and had been appalled by the bad quality of his men. I told R. that I had entirely disagreed with the G.S. about Home Defence, and hoped that he would not be confronted too much with his own department's papers, and would not be too much upset when he found how rotten Home Defence was.

Saturday, March 16. Lunched with Mrs. Ronny Greville and met Mr. Asquith. Asquith in good form and very good company. He was looking well and rested. After lunch was over, Mrs. Greville left us alone, and we had a serious talk. He asked for my views. Would the great German attack come? I said that I believed the Kühlmann party dreaded it, and that its delivery would mean the eternal hostility of the Western Powers, including America, whether the Huns won or lost, and that the political and economic effect upon Germany would be disastrous to her. But I could find no military

grounds for believing that the attack would not come, as all the preparations were for attack, and I thought that our business was to prepare against it, whether it was to be war or negotiation, so that in either event we might stand in the most favourable position possible. With this Asquith entirely agreed, and he wants us to close down the side-shows and do all we can on the Western front. Presuming the attack took place, how would it be planned ? I thought by the delivery of preliminary attacks at Salonika or in Palestine to draw away our reserves, and then a great blow at Italy with the mass of the Austrians and a few Hun divisions as spearhead. The Italians would send up the S.O.S. and our troops would have to go to help, and then the big thing would come in France when our reserves were scurrying about to help in distant theatres.

Would it break through ? I could not say, but thought that it would have to be delivered and would be serious. With this, also, Asquith agreed. Then, we came to consider this main operation, and I found that Asquith and I were agreed that we could not anticipate the military defeat of the Germans now that the Russians had gone out, until greater Yankee forces arrived or we altered our Eastern strategy, and that the only question at present was whether the Huns could defeat us. We each gave this as our private opinion, and both said that we could neither of us express it openly. We agreed, also, that the only course was to go on and hold out until greater American support arrived, but neither of us, with the present rate of American arrivals, expected anything decisive on this side till well into 1919, and Asquith asked whether we could stand the strain.

He was interesting on this American point. If we made terms with the enemy now, Asquith thought that the Americans would be as furious with us as we should have been with the French if they had made peace in 1915, when we had a million men training here. The Americans thought that they were going to do a big thing, and they would despise us for giving way when America was about to win the war : they would hate us more than after the War of Independence.

Yes, I said, and then there is the future. If we are left to be the sole support of France at some future date when Germany is ready to renew the war, then life in England would be intolerable. We must get America right in and responsible for the Peace Terms, so that if Germany broke them America would be involved, having footed the joint bill. Therefore it comes to this, said Asquith, that we must go on and hold out until the Americans are well in, and that we could not make terms except with their full participation and approval. This seemed to me the only rational conclusion.

Asquith had met Clemenceau at the French Embassy last night, and C. had complained that these Inter-Allied Councils were a great waste of time. This accorded with my information that things had been left unsettled,[1] and Asquith thought that there was no point in a monthly meeting to take up three or four days of the time of a busy man. I said that I heard that the Italians were not at all pleased with Versailles. I did not think that L. G. would pine to go to Versailles again, so distressing had been his experience on the last occasion. It was all right for him when he dominated the others and could go large, but now he was up against Clemenceau, who saw through him and asked him inconvenient questions which he could not answer. Asquith thought that Briand was the best of the French statesmen, and I told him how much I appreciated him, and repeated something of my last talk with Briand, including the 'Rubicon' story, which amused Asquith much. The latter thought that Marshall should remain at Bagdad, where he might make himself safe, and he did not much approve of the advance to Hit. He did not know why Allenby was again advancing, but he had heard that Damascus had now been substituted for Aleppo as the objective, and Asquith saw no point in the advance, while I told him that it was part and parcel of the false strategy which revelled in luxuries and forgot necessities. Asquith

[1] Actually, the plan concocted at Paris had been knocked out. Haig and Pétain had been left in charge of their own reserves.

did not like the look of things at Salonika. He told me how Joffre had led us there at Briand's instigation, and put it all down to the desire of both to get Sarrail out of France, and to dish the Rue de Valois people. We feared that if Caillaux were not condemned, Clemenceau might fall, and Asquith thought that there was not enough evidence against Caillaux to hang a cat. We both marvelled at Clemenceau's activity and courage.

Asquith asked me much about the relations between Foch, Pétain, Nivelle, and Haig, and I told him how these matters stood. We thought that this sort of jumble might go on without an exposure until the German attack came, but that then the Versailles plan of disunity of command must break down. I also told Asquith about the reduction of his old 70,000-invaders' standard to 30,000, how I heard that it had now been again raised, how these people were trifling with a serious matter, and how rotten I had found Home Defence, concerning which he knew my views very well from the old Defence Committee inquiries.

I spoke to Asquith about the state of our divisions and regretted that no notice had been taken in Parliament of their reduced strengths. Asquith understood that we were to have 150,000 American infantry to fill up. I said that I had heard the same thing, but objected to the plan, firstly, because L. G. would make it a fresh excuse for refusing to supply more men, and, secondly, from my dread of a change in American feeling if an American contingent was knocked about, or if some act of American indiscipline were sternly punished. Asquith also thought that this plan was serious and might prove dangerous.

Mrs. Greville never asked me anything about the conversation,—a reticence which I much appreciated—but I told her that Asquith and I were quite agreed. She said that after the Conference in France in Oct. 1915, when the Salonika expedition had been settled, Asquith and Balfour had been 2½ hours late in returning, and that Asquith, who was due to dine with her, had come in at 10.30 P.M. to ask for a whisky-and-soda and a sandwich. He had

told Mrs. Greville that he had been blackmailed, which is just what Salonika amounted to. She has just bought the Raeburn and Lawrence pictures of the Pattisson and Paterson children, and they were hanging up and looked fine. As good examples of early English as one could wish to possess.

Dined with Theresa Lady Londonderry, and found a man, whose name I did not catch, from the Munitions Ministry; also Lady Beatty and Mrs. Lascelles—Balfour's niece. I had a good talk with her about things. She is attractive and intelligent. Lady Beatty told me that her Admiral now has to send some of his bigger ships constantly to sea, and that it is an additional anxiety and may some day bring on a big fight.

Sunday, March 17. Met at Olive's Mr. Jerome Greene of the American H.Q. Allied Maritime Transport Council who work at 12 Eaton Square. Belle Herbert, Mrs. Crawshay, Lady Leslie, and the Councillor of the Spanish Embassy Count San Esteban de Cañongo also there. Mrs. Crawshay told us that she had helped Lady Bagot to clear up at the house in Warrington Crescent, where there had been killed, in the last raid, Mrs. Ford, who wrote the popular song, 'Keep the Home Fires Burning.' She had found in the house a short list of other songs, and the last written by Mrs. Ford was called, 'For Me—Remembrance!' Walked away with Greene, who thinks that considering all the progress made in the last two months, the American transport of troops will now make great strides ahead. We are about to commandeer all Dutch ships in Allied ports, and the Germans are furious about it and threaten reprisals on Holland. Dined with General and Mrs. Harbord at Prince's. The General and I discussed Palestine, whence he has just returned, and I found him in full accord with the views that Robertson and I hold about the campaign. He commands the Imperial Service troops from India, and is a good type of the Indian Army officer. He is just off again to Egypt.

Monday, March 18. Met Arthur Henderson again, and

we sat gossiping about politics until 4 P.M. H. rather approved of Milner, but not of Curzon. The latter had fought H. in the Cabinet over the new register which C. hated so much that he would rather have wrecked the Cabinet than have given women votes. At last H. had thumped the table and had asked Curzon whether he wished the working-classes to get their rights by compromise or by revolution, and this shut Curzon up. A good but probably untrue story of Curzon seeing soldiers bathing and expressing surprise that the lower orders had such white skins. Father Wynch came up to Maryon. He is on leave from the front, and said that there had been 15,000 converts to Roman Catholicism in our Armies in France. He thought that the main reason was that imminence of danger caused the men to turn to the Church, which offered such help and consolation to her sons in the hour of death, and also the magnificent conduct of the French priests in the ranks of the Army. He thought the spirit of the men very good.

Tuesday, March 19. I hear that the meeting of the Allied War Council here has cancelled the Paris decision about a third Commander for the reserves. I am told that my criticism killed the silly plan. Now Haig and Pétain will have a dog's chance at all events. Went to lunch with Mrs. Greville and found Lord Chaplin, Lady Londonderry, Lord Peel, Lady Drummond the Canadian, Mrs. Bevil Fortescue, and a Canadian colonel. Walter Long had the 'flu and could not come. Lord Chaplin had just been addressing a crowd in Trafalgar Square from a hay cart! He was trying to get 10,000 more women for the land. He says that Prothero is an authority on the history of agriculture, and on its literary and statistical side. Chaplin is hating Rhondda and all his works, and agrees that his staff are pestiferous. I walked round to his house, a few doors off Mrs. Ronny's, and we had a bit of a talk about the war. Went on with Mrs. Ronny to Christie's and saw a fine lot of Raeburns from some Scottish private houses, largely Mackenzies. They should sell well. We

admired a boy's picture very much, and the portraits were very striking. Went on afterwards to play a little Bridge with Queen Amélie of Portugal, Countess Wrangel the wife of the Swedish Minister, and the Vicomte Asseca. The Vicomtesse gave us a sumptuous tea. The Queen most agreeable as always. The Countess complained that we ought to have invited the Swedes to clear Finland. I think it better that the Swedes should hate the Boches for doing so. I happened to have in my pocket my miniature of Lady Hamilton. The Queen was greatly taken with it, and agreed that it explained Emma as no Romney portrait had ever done. I have had it photographed for *Vestigia*.

Wednesday, March 20. Had another look at the early Rembrandt portrait of himself and liked it even better than before. Colin Agnew brought in a £15,000 Franz Hals, and the Rembrandt made it look positively common. I prefer the early Rembrandts to all later ones, but it seems that the American market does not—a satisfactory confirmation of my opinion.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE OF MARCH 1918

The German offensive of March 21 begins—The ninety-three German divisions against the British—General Crozier on American transport and guns—Disquieting reports—A large claim of captured prisoners and guns by the Germans—Mr. Bonar Law's unfortunate prediction—The battle continues to go against us—Our Army back on the lines of 1916—Germans claim 45,000 prisoners and 1000 guns—Our men fighting one against three—The War Cabinet's death-bed repentance—Our losses 110,000 in a week—General Foch appointed Co-ordinator—A conversation with General Robertson—The position of our reserves before the battle—The French support us—The new Man-Power Bill—Colonel Fagalde on the situation—General Foch's optimism—Sir Hubert Gough on the defeat of his 5th Army by overwhelming numbers—A fresh German attack at Armentières succeeds—General Trenchard's dismissal—Mr. Lloyd George's excuses for our defeats—The position in Russia—General Foch has no troops yet for a great counter-attack—Sir Alan Johnstone and the Hague Legation—M. Cambon on Japanese intervention—Lord Rothermere's resignation—Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Carson on the *Morning Post* and the *Times*—General Allenby on the change of policy in the East.

Thursday, March 21. *Alea jacta est!* This morning there began the much discussed German offensive in the West against our British Armies between the Oise and the Scarpe. We were furiously attacked by heavy masses which got into some of our front lines after suffering great losses. Only the valour of the British soldier can atone for the follies of the War Cabinet.

Friday, March 22. Haig's report this morning is that we are holding the enemy, but there is nothing to show what we have lost. Lunched with Lady Paget and met Prince and Princess Victor Bonaparte, Lady Lowther, the American General Crozier, and the Comte de Noailles. The latter told

me that there were 93 German divisions on the British front now, and that yesterday's attack was delivered by 45 German divisions, of which 20 or so were in first line, and the rest in reserve. We seem, on the whole, to have held them, but the W.O. expects that we have lost men and guns. A pleasant talk with the Prince and Princess, between whom I sat. He tells me that the Empress Eugénie, who is 93, is still well and in full possession of all her faculties. His house in the Avenue Louise is all right and will so remain while the Spanish Minister is at Brussels. Went off with Crozier, who thinks that America can send more than one division a month to France now, and that tonnage will be doubled by August. He expects an aggregate of 500,000 men by June, 1,000,000 by the end of the year, and 2,000,000 by the summer of 1919. He hopes that they can be supplied, but it will need 6,000,000 tons gross at 3 tons a man. Their rifles are all right. The French field guns, though not up to the promised number, are coming on as quickly as the troops arrive, and none have been yet without their guns. The Brownings, on which the U.S. have banked, are said to have proved very successful in their trials. They have only one division in the line by itself, but two others mixed up with French troops.

Saturday, March 23. Haig's report of last night is more disquieting, and the Germans say that they have taken 16,000 prisoners and 200 guns. There is no doubt that the greater part of our first-line system, except the reserve line, was in German hands yesterday from the Sensée to the Oise, partly captured, and partly evacuated for troops to preserve their alignment. Besides forty divisions attacking, other masses are identified in rear, and there can be little doubt that this will be the decisive battle of the war.

The Cabinet much rattled, and L. G. tells the miners that 'it is absolutely essential for us, if we are to avoid defeat, to have more men to maintain our Armies in the field.' He added, 'I have never heard any one challenge that need.' He also says that 'the Germans have attacked us with overwhelming forces.' Let him compare this cry

of anguish with the speech of the War Cabinet spokesman, Mr. Bonar Law, only a fortnight ago, on March 7, when he declared that 'there will be no dangerous superiority on the Western front from the point of view of guns any more than from the point of view of men,' and that he was 'still a little sceptical' about the threatened offensive. To that I replied in the *Morning Post*, on March 16, that it was not legitimate to be sceptical about the offensive, and I drew the conclusion from B. L.'s speech that the War Cabinet 'has no sense of the realities of war, nor of its mechanics, nor of the manner of fighting of the Germans, nor of the advantages of the initiative.' All the blindness and folly of the War Cabinet for a year past are now bearing their bitter fruits.

I lunched with the Ian Hamiltons. Sir Ian confessed that he and all the War Cabinet had been hopelessly at fault in disbelieving in the German offensive. We were feeling too badly about the loss of men, guns, and ground, announced to-day, to talk much. Met Colonel Webber of the St. John's Wood R.A. Cadet School: he seems a nice fellow. Belle Herbert and some others there.

Monday, March 25. The battle continues to go against us, and our two Armies, the 5th and 3rd, are retiring slowly. The Germans make high claims of men and guns captured. Fagalde lunched with me at Prince's Grill. We found that everything that we had expected had happened, and that nothing else could have happened.

Had a dish of tea with Robertson at York House. We were interrupted by visitors, as Lady R. had been economising coal in her drawing-room, so there was not much chance of a chat, but we discussed a few things. I dined with the Scarbroughs in Park Lane. They were alone. He quite approves of the mobile battalions of Volunteers being called up for a month's training. Looked in at Londonderry House after dinner and heard from L. that the Convention had been a complete frost, and that the voting has gone on pretty evenly, North against South, on all questions, and that there was no approach to an agreement.

Tuesday, March 26. Things looking a trifle brighter to-day,

and it is thought that if we can hold up the enemy to-day we may pull through. Lunched with Lady Massereene and found also there Islington, Lady Curzon, Lady Elcho, Lady Titchfield, General Brancker, and Eric Chaplin. A lot of talk and chaff. Walked away with Islington, who told me that they were anxious to seize Ispahan, but that Marling was holding up the plan. We agreed that India had been much uncovered on her frontiers by recent happenings. Monro, says Islington, is doing well. Montagu will be back in May. Dined with the Eric Chaplins at Mansfield House, 18 New Cavendish Street; a charming Adams house with well-proportioned rooms, all very dignified, and in the best style of architecture. Lady Nunburnholme had walked into the house one day and had bought it for her daughter, Mrs. Chaplin. We had two pleasant flying officers there. Chaplin is also at the Air Ministry. Much chaff about the lady clerks and chauffeuses. I hear that the Handley-Page which bombed Cologne this week was 8½ hours in flight, which is exceptional. They hit the railway station, so they say. We seem to have beaten the Boches well in the air because their men are badly trained,—only for six weeks,—and the star fliers came on the scene too late. But Boche reports claim Boche air victories. Chaplin gave us some remarkable old brandy of 1794. It was laid down by Lord Henry Bentinck years ago. Chaplin had 'given away' two dozen of it to Morgan at £5 a bottle when Morgan bought his Bordeaux.

Wednesday, March 27. After a week of fighting our 3rd Army, fighting against three times its strength, has been forced back to the old lines which we held at the end of June 1916. The Boches claim 45,000 prisoners and nearly 1000 guns. Our 5th Army has been relieved by the French, and has, I fear, been badly broken. It is the worst defeat in the history of the Army. I am anxious because if the Boche wedge is driven much further, our left Armies will be cut off from the others. Pétain is sending up to us more support than we asked for. There is a certain reduction of the pressure to-day,

but I don't think that it will last. We have been fighting 73 Boche divisions with about a third of their numbers. It is the result which the War Cabinet has been legislating for during the past year. Lunched with Mrs. Greville and found the Spanish Ambassador, Sir Mark and Lady Sykes, Sir Fritz Ponsonby, Lady Alington, Lord Queenborough, and Lady Cunard. A gay party in spite of all. His Excellency does not think that the Dutch much mind the seizure of their ships, and hope to profit by it. Mark Sykes and I agreed that we should now attempt to take away our troops from Salonika. I told the story of Balfour, who, on being informed that we had lost 1000 guns, replied calmly, 'Oh really, what a bore!' This story brought up one by Mark, who said that as he had been sent by the W.O. to keep touch with the F.O., he thought it right to report himself to Balfour, who said to him, 'But, my dear Mark, I thought that you had been at the Foreign Office for years!' The Ambassador also told us that Cambon had grumbled to Balfour about the latter's Zionist plan, and had reminded B. that, according to prophecies, the end of the world would follow the return of the Jews to Palestine. 'That is just the point,' rejoined Balfour; 'think how interesting it will be for us all to see it!' The Spanish Ambassador assured me that the U-boat which had taken refuge at Ferrol had had her propellers removed and a guard set over her. He said that Spain alone had refused to allow U-boats to put to sea again after taking refuge in Spanish ports.

Thursday, March 28. The situation in France is not too favourable. We and the French were heavily attacked yesterday along the whole front, and a fresh bombardment of our lines east of Arras opened this morning. The battle now extends from the Scarpe to the Oise, through west of Monchy–Bucquoy – Beaumont Hamel – the Ancre – Morlancourt – Chepilly–Harbonnières–Rosières. Here we join the French, who hold L'Echelle – St. Aurin – Beauvraignes – Lassigny – Noyon south approaches, and the left bank of the Oise. The French have been pressed back a bit east of Montdidier.

In general, we are attacked on a front of 100 kilometres, 62½ miles, and large numbers were again reported in the attacks on the whole of the above front yesterday. Later in the day I hear that the French have lost Montdidier. Lord Curzon of Kedleston sends me a packet of documents from Charles Townshend and I return them. The War Cabinet now frantically trying to do all the things which the soldiers implored them to do months ago. It is late.

Saturday, March 30. No great change these last two days. The Germans brought ten divisions against us at Arras and eleven to the south of it, and were repulsed with great loss. The French fighting hard on the line Noyon–Montdidier, and this afternoon are reported to have retaken the latter town. Lunched with Jack Cowans and another friend. Jack tells me that 200 guns went out to replace losses during eighteen hours on Saturday last. The 5th Army has lost 50,000 tons of ammunition. He does not know what else he will have to replace, but is well up with all reserves of stores and supplies, and has just given the Americans 3000 lorries. Our losses are estimated at 110,000 up to to-day. The Boche losses are reported to be immense. Officers back from the front say that our guns simply mowed down great masses of Germans and could not miss them. We had never had such a mark. Derby tells Jack that he will require 500,000 sets of clothing for the men whom they expect to get from the new Man-Power Bill, which Macready declares to be satisfactory from the A.G.'s point of view, and apparently includes Ireland. But the least improvement in the position will set the Cabinet shuffling again, and they are sure then to cut down something. Paris said to be quiet. No boat expected to sail for the next two or three weeks.

Colonel Balfour, at Southampton, said that he had just shipped the 700,000th horse from the Docks since the war began. There has been a question of supplying 200,000 sets of clothes for the Volunteers, but apparently the wobblers have now drawn back again, and do not mean to call up the Volunteers. I suppose our fool of a War Cabinet think that untrained recruits are just as good. Foch reported to-day

in several papers to have been made *généralissime*, but no official announcement yet, and Jack says that the Army Council have heard nothing of it. They will, no doubt, be the last to hear of it. Foch a good man, and anything is better than the rotten Versailles plan. Rawly has taken over a reconstituted 4th Army, and all his Staff of ten generals and thirty other officers at Versailles have gone off with him. Hope that they have enjoyed their holiday. Versailles seems to be putting up the shutters, which is a mercy at all events. The preposterous Versailles plan of disunity of command would have lost the war.

Sunday, March 31. Not much change to-day. The country, though greatly moved by the battle, is steady, and only awaits the orders of the Government, which do not come. The War Cabinet sit all day and are much rattled. L. G. reported to be in the depths. He sends a panic cable to America. The King back from three days in France, where his visit did good. The soldiers cry out to him, 'For God's sake send us men.' The Press is steady. The *Daily Mail* suddenly discovers that men should have been sent before. The Tories pompous and hypocritical. Every one says that if the Cabinet had attended to me these misfortunes could not have occurred.

Monday, April 1. The fighting goes on along the whole front from Arras down to Montdidier and Noyon. There are some local changes without great importance, but, on the whole, to our advantage. The German losses are by all accounts immense, and some optimists think that the enemy has suffered so much, and is so committed to the present front of attack, that he will not be able to make another big attack elsewhere. Lunched with Lady Beresford. The Admiral very well. Lord Lascelles there, and Blumenfeld of the *Daily Express*, besides a lady whose name I did not catch. They say that L. G. is in the dumps, and the War Cabinet sits continually. Foch's appointment as 'Co-ordinator,' *alias* General-in-Chief, announced on Saturday. L. G.—or is it Clemenceau?—has given the command to Foch, who now has the fate of our Armies in

his hands. L. G. has also diverted the control of our Eastern adventures to Versailles, *vide* Bonar Law's answer to a question in the Commons on March 18; but as Versailles has put up its shutters, I do not know who now controls our knight-errants in the East. We run the danger of being separated from the French and driven back upon the northern Channel ports. The German fleet is reported to have been out. The Volunteers are still not called out for service. Jack Cowans told me the other day that he now feeds half the Army through Calais and Boulogne, and the other half through Havre and Rouen.

Charlie B. to-day said that Hedworth Meux had quite solemnly warned him against taking a female typist, as so many old men had fallen victims to them! The Beresfords now call the lady *The Decree Nisi*! Lady B. stopped in her car by a policeman the other day for using petrol without authority. He demanded her name. She looked out at him furiously and said, 'My good man, *can't you see* that I 'm an imbecile?' Policeman so taken aback that he dropped his pencil and notebook and told the chauffeur to drive on.

Tuesday, April 2. I wrote yesterday an article about American aid in the war, and to-day another about the situation in Italy. Gwynne and I both hear that Haig is doomed, and suppose that he will be the next scapegoat, on the pretext that he said he could hold on if attacked. But, after all, he is still holding on! Not much news from the battle to-day, though there has been plenty of fighting. The enemy appears to me to be collecting himself for his next spring. Foch has guaranteed that Amiens will not be taken. It is said that if we can hold on over Friday next we should be safe, but I distrust all opinions of men now at the top.

Wednesday and Thursday, April 3 *and* 4. Spent these two days in studying the situation, and in writing for the *M.P.* General Dessino lunched with me, and we discussed Russia, without much profit. He wants me to help to get Russian officers here permission to be employed as officers,

saying that we intended to make them serve as privates. He also said that a short time ago the rumour had spread that we meant to seize all Russian private accounts in the banks, and that even General Yermoloff had believed it, and had drawn out his money and went about with all of it in his pockets! I said that Yermoloff had been among us for a quarter of a century, and that I was disappointed that he did not know us better.

Thursday evening I dined with Robertson at York House. Only Lady R. and Colonel Lucas there. I found that R. and I are fully in agreement about the critical character of the situation in France. We had both heard that the German attack had recommenced to-day with great forces south of the Somme, and had no doubt that their game was, as before, to separate us from the French, to drive us up against the northern Channel ports after capturing Amiens, and then to ring us up securely and turn upon Paris and the French, with an additional advance from the Rheims front. We discussed what we should do. I thought that if Amiens could hold for certain, we were all right, and that nothing counted for me so much as the preservation of our touch and co-operation with the French Armies and the prolongation of the war, if necessary, by a retreat into France. I thought that if we were separated from the French, we should be shut up in the north and be held by an inferior force till the Germans found it convenient to attack us; that we should not be able to get out, as the German lines on our east front were already strong, and that the Somme would also be held against us when the French went back. I did not think that we could get our Armies home from this coast, and doubted if we could feed them there.

R. thought that the success of a Boche attack on Amiens was worth 300,000 casualties to him, and that he was evidently out for it. He thought that the week's lull in the fighting had been no more than was normal, as in part of the front the Germans had advanced thirty-five miles, and that what was coming now was what had been in his

mind ever since 1914, only fortunately the Boche had trotted off to Russia and left us the initiative, from which we might have profited had the Cabinet done their duty about Man-Power. Now the nightmare was on us again, and he did not see how a great retreat could be accomplished now. The Boches were only ten miles from Amiens and thirty from Abbeville, whence to the sea—or at least from St. Valery—there were no bridges. We ended by agreeing that the whole matter hinged on whether Amiens could be held, and that as neither of us knew precisely the forces which we had to defend the Somme–Montdidier sector, we were not in a position to decide whether the retreat from our northern lines was or was not necessary. In either case I said that I supposed that R. would refuse to express an opinion if called in. He said that this was so. He had always resisted the running about of the War Cabinet to ask other people their views while he was C.I.G.S., and he would now take the same position in justice to his successor. He had been out of office for two months, and, besides, could not venture to advise things which would be passed on to others for execution. With this I agreed, and quoted Wellington's answer to Castlereagh in a similar case in Sept. 1808. The two cases were much alike.

R. wondered how the various generals in France were getting on. Pétain, said R., had moved from Compiègne to Provins, which was a long way from Foch and Haig. R. knew that Wilson had signed the Versailles paper advocating the Aleppo campaign the other day, and R. wondered how he would like it when it came out. Allenby, said R., would not know now what the devil to be at, and must be scratching his head. R. also did not know what on earth Marshall was up to in his pursuit up the Euphrates so far from Bagdad, and he saw no object in the advance.

R. says that he has 500,000 men under him in the Eastern Command, but few fit to fight, and he has only the defended ports to look after. He is not responsible for Home Defence,

as the public think. He has sent off some 45,000 of the A4 boys at 18½, and is very sore about it. He said, 'There is no Home Defence to-night.' He does not know how he can reply to the new German guns which are bombarding Paris, at a range of seventy-five miles, with the few old 9·2's at Dover. We thought it a pity that Eric Geddes had the Jellicoe case on his conscience, as he was a sound practical fellow of the type we want. The pretence of the *Kindergarten* is that it is a case of Military *versus* Civil Government. This made us laugh a good deal, for all that soldiers have been trying to do has been to run their own business, not the Government's, and this is exactly what the pack of politicians resent. They cannot see the difference between peace and war, and insist on running a business of which they know nothing, just to show that Civil Government is supreme. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*! Anyhow, I said to R., every mother's son of them must know in their hearts that you were right all through.

Friday, April 5. About twenty Boche divisions attacked us and the French south of the Somme yesterday. They took Hamel from us, and Morisel and another village from the French, and failed again against us at Albert, but they are evidently going on and at the same old objective. Wrote an article on the danger of the situation, expanding what I had said before. L. G. has been over to France and returned yesterday. I hope he likes it. Lunched with Lady Cunard, now at 44 Grosvenor Square: Judge Lindsay of America and his wife. They seemed very nice people, and he spoke well and took a fine line about the President and American action. Mrs. Greville also there, the Lionel Guests, and Mr. Mitchell, the U.S. food man over here. He admitted that the great difficulty was that all departments played for their own hands, and that it was a pure toss up which got the ear of a Prime Minister in any country. He wanted us to kill our beasts now to help tonnage while the U.S. troops were being rushed over. The Duchess of Rutland and Lady Diana came in later, also Wolkoff. All enthusiastic about rabbit breeding.

Lady D. dubious about what rabbits eat. I believe she thinks them carnivorous.

Saturday, April 6. No further news of importance. Lunched with Fagalde and had an interesting talk. He thought that the distribution of the Franco-British reserves on March 18, four days before the attack, was very interesting to study. We then had news that several German attacks were mounted, namely, at Ypres, Cambrai, St. Quentin, Rheims, and in Lorraine. Consequently the British Reserves were scattered along the front, while the French were in two main masses, namely, on the Rheims and Lorraine fronts, with a thin chaplet of divisions between them. Pellé, with his Army Corps, the 5th I think, had come up first to succour Gough. It has been stationed north of Paris. Then Corps from the Rheims sector, Châlons, etc. The relief had been worked out beforehand between Haig and Pétain, but took some time.

Actually there were now 14 French divisions on the battle front and 22 in reserve. A very good result in the time. Fayolle commanded the whole lot. There were three more divisions on their way, and they would arrive in four days. Then we should have between us as many as the 86 which the Boches had used, and he was consequently fairly happy about the situation. Rawly had reconstituted his old 4th Army, and was holding the angle between the Somme and the Ancre, which was short but important. Gough's 5th Army were refreshing at Abbeville, and all worn divisions were being sent to him to be made smart again. Ivor Maxse was there with the Staffs of the two Army Corps to help him to put things to rights. The French would soon have four Armies on the battlefield, namely, 1st and 3rd,—those now fighting—and the 5th and 10th behind. A reaction was being prepared and would be ready in some ten days; it would probably act on the Lassigny–Noyon front. I hoped that we should gain no ground before the War Cabinet's new Man-Power Bill was presented, for, if we did, the Cabinet would begin jinking at once.

F. was very satisfied with the new Man-Power Bill, which would give us 1,500,000 men. He and I had only asked for 900,000, so we ought to be satisfied, he said! We laughed a good deal about L. G.'s fears of a social revolution and all the rubbish about it of which he delivered himself at Versailles. There is not one murmur in the country!

F. said that Foch was at Beauvais. He was not *généralissime*, and only had the duty of co-ordinating the operations. Haig and Pétain still remained supreme in their old spheres, and if there was any trouble the Prime Ministers had to be called in. Hence the visits of Clemenceau and of L. G. to Beauvais, no doubt. But Foch was creating a Central Staff, and Weygand was with him. We laughed about the Versailles Military Board.

F. thought that the Germans were now entering upon the second stage of the normal attack, when the first impetus had died away and the advance became slow and laborious. Even if 100 divisions had been used and there were still 100 more, these latter could not replace the others under three months, and, as a matter of fact, divisions were being called up from all parts of the German line to replace losses. Even on the other German fronts, where attacks were mounted, there was no accumulation of reserves, and we agreed that there was nothing for the Boche to do but to continue. F. thought, with me, that his aim was still to separate us, but expected him to hold the French and to try to annihilate us. If his attack failed he might straighten and try to rearrange his line, but not go back far, as it would be such an admission of failure.

F. thought that the Boche, if he failed, would either offer to negotiate or dash off with a few fresh divisions to attack Italy or Salonika, pretending that these things were his real object, and we both thought Italy would have his preference. But it would deceive nobody, and, least of all, Germany, which was beginning to read in the Press of the 'mountains of dead' of its troops. F. also said that we had lost 140,000 men up to date. He did not know the French losses, but thought them not very heavy. The

Germans had been two and three and even four to one against us sometimes, and had therefore used up more troops than we had, and we had more intact reserves. F. rather approved of Marshall's good coup on the Euphrates, and his long pursuit up that river. He had destroyed a Turkish division, and had also come upon an accumulation of preparations for a Turkish attack and had destroyed it. It was just as well for Marshall to know for certain how these things stood, and there was no better way of knowing it than going to look. Marshall was now returning from his foray and would send two Indian divisions to Allenby, war trained troops, and Allenby would send two of his white divisions to Europe. F. thought that Allenby's raid upon the Hedjaz line had not been very successful.

We talked of Foch's optimism. F. said that Foch's accounts of a situation were usually rather prophetic than literally accurate. In Marne days Foch had always told Joffre that all was well and would be better next day, even when he had lost some miles of ground. He always sent orders to his Corps to attack the next day. All his commanders said that their men were done up, but they got orders to attack all the same. Finally the 11th Corps commander came personally and said that he was so depleted that he could not hold the line allotted to him, still less attack. But next morning he, also, got his orders to attack, and fortunately the Boches ran away at last. It was Foch's idea that his will was superior to that of any one opposing him, and that if he kept on long enough the enemy would go away.

In the evening went to Lady Cunard's box to hear *Carmen*. Quite good. Drury Lane crammed. An opera that I love. It was the last night of the season, and Beecham, who was conducting, was called for, and made a little speech. Lady Bingham, Mrs. Ernest Cunard, the Droghedas, Leverton Harris, Mr. Mitchell the American, Judge Lindsay and his wife, Lady Annesley, and a few more, while others looked in between the acts.

Sunday, April 7. Sir Hubert Gough telephoned in the

morning and came up to dinner at Maryon. He had been sent home by order of the War Cabinet, who are searching for military scapegoats in order to deflect criticism from themselves. It would have been more just if they had sent themselves home. He was looking uncommonly fit and well, and told me all the story of the 5th Army during the days of March 21-28. His forces were :—

8th Army Corps . . Butler.	58th, 18th, and 12th Divisions; 2nd and 3rd Cavalry Divisions.
18th Army Corps . . Ivor Maxse.	36th, 30th, and 61st Divisions; 20th Division in reserve.
19th Army Corps . . Watt.	24th and 66th Divisions; 50th Div. and 1st Cav. Div. in res.
7th Army Corps . . Congreve.	16th, 21st, and 7th Divisions; 39th Division in reserve.

Total: 14 divisions, about 100,000 rifles, and 1500 guns.

He was reinforced by one more division, the 8th I think, in the evening of the 23rd. He had against him Von Hutier's 18th Army, with four Army Corps of 40 divisions, of which 23 in first line and 17 in close support, with 3500 guns. These figures are confirmed by our printed G.H.Q. Intelligence Report which he showed to me. Gough's front extended for 40 miles, and was too thinly held. No more reserves were available for him. His troops were insufficiently trained and rested, and, on an average, only one week's training had been given to them since Jan. 20, when they took over the line. He had instructions that it would be better to lose ground than men. Also, the reorganisation had only just been completed, and the change from 12 battalions to 9 in all divisions had greatly disturbed people, besides reducing the infantry by 25 per cent. of its strength. He had also reported that the Press attacks on generals were liable to undermine the confidence of the men.

Gough had known for a month that he would probably be attacked, and Pétain had been sure he would be ever since Von Hutier's Army appeared in Gough's front. Gough had a well-placed outpost line, or forward zone, running from Amigny along the river Oise to Moy, thence west of

St. Quentin, and so along the road to Le Catelet. It had strong posts which mutually flanked each other. His battle zone was behind this, running past Tergnier, Essignol, Roupy, Massemy, Hargicourt, Lempire, past Epéhy, to the north of Gouzeaucourt, and thence to Metz-en-Couture. He had 11 divisions in front line and 3 in reserve, plus his cavalry. He had never heard such a bombardment as that which opened on him on March 21. There was a dense mist, and the Boche masses flowed in between his outpost positions, cutting the wire and isolating the posts which were turned and captured, though many held out for long after being surrounded. The firing was all done at 50 yards, and no mutual support was possible. On the Oise front the enemy prepared bridges and rafts overnight. The two months of dry weather had made all the marshes by the river dry. His men had fought well, but by the end of the second day the enemy had broken four gaps in his battle line by taking the fortified points of Tergnier, Essignol-le-Grand, Massemy, and Hargicourt, and he had to decide whether to fight on where he stood and be broken, or to go back fighting. He chose the latter course, which was in consonance with his instructions and really the only course practicable, as he was overwhelmed by numbers.

After the 8th Division, his first reinforcement was a division sent by Franchet d'Esperey. Then Pellé came up with his Corps, but the French would not place themselves under his command. Gough claims that his Army, as a whole, was never broken, and that it retained its alignment during the eight days, March 21 to 29. He lost about 60 per cent. of his strength in killed, wounded, and missing, and some 600 guns. He brought with him some of Maxse's notes, which mentioned particularly the fine conduct of the 61st Division, under Colin Mackenzie. Maxse mentions the 2nd Wilts and 16th Manchesters of the 30th Division as having heroically resisted five hours of furious bombardment and then the attack of two German divisions. Their H.Q. in the redoubt line were holding out and fighting hard several hours after they were surrounded by masses of the enemy. Several

others held their redoubt line till late in the evening, and the division fought steadily back to Moreuil, which it reached on the 29th. The 36th Ulster Division had had three battalions overwhelmed in the forward zone similarly, and men of the 12th Royal Irish were still holding out in the racecourse redoubt after 24 hours of incessant fighting. The 1st Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers at Fontaine-les-Clercs repulsed 12 desperate attacks. The retreat was effected in good order, and there were daily rearguard actions. Maxse notes that some of his artillery served under French generals in the 'last critical days' of these operations.

One of Gough's papers gives a German order on Field Strengths, dated Jan. 26 last. This shows infantry battalions to be 870 all ranks, or 1004 with their M.G. companies. This is called the *Feldstärke*, and the term 'fighting strength' is no longer to be employed. Evidence shows that in the northern portion of the battle front from the river Sensée to the Cambrai–Bapaume road, 9 miles, there were 9 Boche divisions in line and 8 in reserve. On the front from the Cambrai–Bapaume road to La Vacquerie and La Fère there were 23 divisions in line and 17 in close reserve. Therefore we were opposed by 61 divisions on the battle front on March 21. A further 22 divisions came up later. It is reported that the Crown Prince's Group of Armies comprises the Argonne group under the orders of the 16th Corps Staff. This group extends as far east as Varennes.

So far as I can make out from Gough's account, the retreat of the 5th Army before overwhelming numbers was the only course open after the four holes had been punched in his battle line. He is rather sore at being sent no reserves except the one division. He told me that Haig had told him that he expects to be sent home in a week's time. Drove Gough down to London. Gough had taken over two Corps from Byng, Dec. 18; one Corps front, 18,000 yards, from the French on Jan. 20; and the remaining Corps front, 30,000 yards, about Feb. 15.

Monday, April 8. Went down to see Lord Haldane, who is just back from the north. Found that he had been forgathering with L. G., Derby, and others, and had evi-

dently been drawn over to their support by L. G.'s usual blandishments. So we were not so much in accord as usual. He does not think that Haig will be relieved. Lunched with Mrs. Greville and found the Wrangels, Max-Muller, Wolkoff, and Mrs. Brinton. Discussed German food supplies, and found that Wrangel and Max-Muller agree that Germany is better off than a year ago, and can go on, though wanting much. Max-Muller expects that Germany and Austria will get little from the Ukraine as there are no elevators, and the peasants have been using their grain to make liquor secretly since the vodka order came out. Three ships that went to Odessa from Constantinople came back empty. The supposed supplies do not exist.

Tuesday, April 9. I had written an article yesterday defending the 5th Army against their traducers, but the Press Bureau, under orders I suppose, took care that it should not appear to-day, so L. G. no doubt intends to place the blame on the soldiers in his opening speech when Parliament reassembles to-day, and does not wish the other side to be heard until he has manufactured an opinion in his favour. I went down to the *M.P.* office and had a talk with Gwynne. He wants me to write about L. G.'s speech when the full report is in to-morrow. There is nothing new from the front to-day. The enemy is still piling up troops and guns for the decisive stage of the battle. Gough told me on Sunday that all the roads and railways leading to the battle zone were packed with German troops coming up. There is going to be the biggest battle ever known, and we stand in a rotten situation.

Wednesday, April 10. *Second Phase.* Yesterday the Boches opened a new attack upon us in the Armentières–La Bassée sector, and penetrated to Laventie on an eleven-mile front. Von Quast's 6th Army, I suppose, and it may have twelve divisions. A nasty jar. To-day the attack has extended north to the Messines Ridge, and the Boches have taken part of 'Plug Street' (Ploegsteert). The Messines Ridge holds, but evidently it is an important new opening and will probably extend to Passchendaele. I assume it is intended to divert our reserves in the south.

Lunched at Londonderry House, and discussed the Convention and Conscription for Ireland with L.

Thursday, April 11. Went on to the Marlborough Club to see Sir George Arthur. I bet him a fiver that he would not name the two things that I had in my pockets in a thousand guesses. They were six plover's eggs and two old letters from Kaiser Bill! Arthur told me that Trenchard was giving up the Chief of the Staff of the new Royal Air Force. A real bad business as Trenchard is a tip-top man. It is the same old political game, and the country is being ruined by it. Arthur pointed out to me that K. had laid down 70 divisions, and that we had never had them in France; and that while K.'s divisions were 12 to 13 battalions of some 23,000 all ranks, ours were now of 9 to 10 battalions and much lower establishments. That meant that we had dropped 70×3 battalions=210—the equivalent of 23 of our present divisions! I also make out that the white infantry now in our Eastern theatres would equal the 17 German divisions which have just attacked us.

The country and Parliament are so utterly ignorant of military affairs, and are so misled by L. G.'s accounts of the situation, that I daresay some believe his explanation in the House on April 9, to the effect that our Eastern adventures were but little drain on us. I expect that history will find the detachment of over a million men on these futile Eastern campaigns inexcusable. Also, he declared that the Allies largely counted on America 'to make up for the Russian defection,' and expressed his grievous disappointment about it. This is delicious! The Boches had 74 divisions in the East last June, and the Austrians over 40. Tom Bridges, returning with Balfour that month, told the War Cabinet—*vide* this diary for June 17, 1917—that the Americans would send their first division over in July 1917, and thereafter not more than one division in a month through 1917 and 1918. This would have given 9 American divisions by March.[1] How would this have

[1] Compare p. 487. The estimate of General Bridges proved correct.

made up for the 74 Boche divisions set free, and the 40 Austrian? Yet L. G. tells the Commons that the Allies counted on 'a large American Army in the spring!' It is with such tales that L. G. deceives the country. All his line now is to show that we were as strong as the Boches in the West,[1] and expected the attack when it came, and that, *ergo*,—he leaves this to be inferred—the soldiers were all born fools. Yet there is not one man in Parliament with the knowledge or the courage to denounce and expose him, and we critics outside are muzzled by the Censor.

Went on to have a growl with Robertson at York House. He confirms the Trenchard story. It is a great misfortune, especially at this juncture. R. says that he is told that five of our divisions have been so cut up in the recent fighting that we must count them out. We are much perturbed by the march of things in France. R. much dreads the effect of the new Boche success in the north. R. now agreed that we *might* lose the war if we let go the Channel ports, but we *must* lose it if we are separated from the French. This is about my idea of it. He says the French want us to dig a Hindenburg line parallel with and behind our present line. We thought that if we were separated from the French, the latter would give in.

Friday, April 12. The new Military Service Bill has been debated since Tuesday last. It raises the age to fifty-six, conscripts Ireland, takes in ministers of religion for non-combatant service, and gives large powers to the Minister of National Service to abolish exemptions and call up blocks of men by the 'clean cut' by age. Very drastic, but, alas, behind time by six months! It seems likely to be passed, because people are thoroughly alarmed at last.

Sir F. E. Smith sends me his book on his journey to America.

[1] The French G.Q.G. figures show that the Germans were 200,000 stronger than the Allies in the West in rifle and machine-gun strength on Jan. 1, 1918. The American official statistics show that the German superiority in rifle strength was 324,000 on April 1, 1918, and that the Allies did not attain to superiority in rifle strength until the latter part of June.

Saturday, April 13. The fighting in the north continues to go against us, though our troops are fighting splendidly. It is said now that 110 German divisions in all have been identified, and that 28 are in the Armentières battle, of which 6 on the Ploegsteert–Messines side, 12 in the centre who have now reached Merville, and some 10 to 12 in the south aiming at Béthune. The aim apparently is to outflank the Vimy position from the north.

Sunday, April 14. No great change. Robertson sends me up his views before going to church. He is satisfied that the right thing is to stick to the Frenchmen. He says that if the Boche gets Hazebrouck or the Kemmel–Mont des Cats heights, the Ypres salient lot will feel very uncomfortable. However, I am not yet convinced that we are not going to stay out the Boche, overwhelmingly strong though his attack is.

Monday, April 15. My strong condemnation of L. G. and my refutation of his excuses in the H. of C. on April 9 did not come out to-day, and I hear that the Censor is holding it up. A long talk with Lord Esher in Tilney Street. He is just back from Scotland. We reviewed the whole situation together, and faced all the consequences frankly, being more or less in agreement. His last news from G.H.Q. was that there were now 111 German divisions on the whole battle front. E. very critical of the French for giving away the young Emperor Karl's letter to Prince Sixte de Bourbon, stating that he would support France's claim to Alsace-Lorraine. It was a pity, thought E., to expose the fact that we had such an important friend in the enemy's camp.

Tuesday, April 16. Severe fighting still going on round Merville, Bailleul, and Wulverghem.

Wednesday, April 17. My article on Georgian excuses came out to-day, and it certainly is pretty severe. I am told that it cuts like a knife. It exposes L. G.'s prevarications about numbers, the Eastern expeditions, and the American 'disappointment.' I am surprised that the Censor has let it pass. So is Robertson, with whom I

lunched to-day. We had both heard gloomy accounts of the feeling at our G.H.Q. in France. Charlie Burn, just back from France, says that the Army is dog-tired after 26 days of continuous fighting, and that if our Army be rounded up, the soldiers mean to make themselves very unpleasant here, as they attribute all the fault to L. G. and his Cabinet.

We had a little talk over the possibility of having to close down the continental part of the war and of our chances if we reverted to a maritime war, but the prospect was less pleasing the more we looked into it. The port of London is the great difficulty, for if we abandon the French Channel ports we cannot supply London easily by sea. In the end we came again to the opinion that we *must not* allow our Army to be separated from the French Army, but that we were daily in a more difficult position to prevent this catastrophe. We lost Neuve Chapelle on Tuesday, and yesterday the Boches took Wytschaete and Bailleul. R. and I both thought that Plumer would have to leave the Ypres salient, and later we heard that he had just done so. We expect that he is on the line through Ypres, and may go back to the Gravelines water-line, which can be inundated if they have gone at it soon enough. R. says that at our depots outside Calais there are £50,000,000 worth of stores of all sorts. He thinks that the decks ought to have been cleared for a retreat before this, but doubts that it has been done. We discussed the retreat of our left, gradually pivoting round, with the right of our left wing as the pivot, and thought it a precious delicate operation. R. hears that he may be asked to go to France in some capacity, and consulted me about it. I was against it, as Foch alone commands now, and has Johnny Du Cane as his British C.G.S., and also Charles Grant—two good men. Haig has become a post office, and I did not see what good R. could do unless he returned to his old post with full powers. It seemed to me important, if we came to a smash, that R. should remain unaffected by it and be able to set to work to recast everything. We neither of us saw

what good he could do in France just now. He would be useless if he agreed with Foch and powerless if he did not.

Thursday, April 18. Not much change on the battle front. Our Navy have done sweeps through the Kattegat and the Bight of Heligoland, sinking a dozen armed trawlers or so. Well to know what is going on there. The Belgians have beaten back a Boche attack and taken 600 prisoners. Lunched with Olive. Rumours of a Boche landing at Lough Swilly! Dined at Londonderry House. Lord and Lady L., Theresa Lady L., Belle Herbert, Lord and Lady Titchfield, and Walter Long. Benevente had won the Craven Stakes at Newmarket to-day, and they were all delighted as she was giving the colts weight, and the form makes her the best of the year up to date. Titchfield so bored with having been taken over his father, the Duke's, stables so often as a young man that he says he never wants to see another racehorse.

We discussed the Ministerial changes announced to-day, including Derby's as Ambassador to France, Milner's succession to Derby at the War Office, and Austen Chamberlain's nomination to the War Cabinet. Derby reported not to know French. He told Bonar Law that he would have to go to bed with a dictionary. B. L. replied that he was 'no vara sure what use a deektionary would be in the ceercumstances.' L. mimics B. L.'s way of speaking to perfection. Joe Laycock telephoned to me, and we got him to come on to Londonderry House. He left the battle this morning. He assured us that General Wilson's forecast of the arrival of 96 German divisions on the St. Quentin front in March, of which L. G. has made so much,—though Heaven knows why, as it makes the War Cabinet out to be bigger fools than ever—was, in fact, made in reference to an attack in a different part of our front, and related to next *July*, and not March. Laycock says that our men are pretty worn, but the Boches have suffered a lot. He applauds the conduct of our artillery, which now often holds a line by itself. He was with Gough during the retreat of the 5th Army. He says that the Army are very

pleased with my defence of them, and with my having told the truth when the politicians here lied. I wrote an article on Robertson and Trenchard's cases to show how the politicians conducted the war.

Friday, April 19. Wrote and worked. In the afternoon went to the Town Hall to meet Mr. Jefferson Hogg, who now runs the West London recruiting ground. Major Morley who was with him said that there were 900,000 men of military age (up to forty-one) still in the London district and on the recruiting registers. The Military Service Bill No. 2 becomes law. Little change except that ministers of religion are not to be conscripted, and that all men exempted by the Tribunals are to be made to join the Volunteers unless the Tribunals excuse them. A good move, due to Lord Desborough. We have been taking this course at Hampstead for some time.

Dined with Olive to meet Sir Horace Plunkett, Professor Morgan, Lady Fingall, Bridget, and Miss Heaton-Ellis. We talked Ireland most of the time. Plunkett, who has been a pillar of the Irish Convention, in despair at the manner in which the Irish question had been handled by L. G. He had committed every fault possible, with the result that all Ireland was united against conscription, and since Barnes's speech in the Commons it was certain that we should get no men under the new Act because virtually a promise had been made not to apply it except through the Irish Parliament of the future, the discussion on which might last all the summer. The trouble had arisen mainly because L. G. had pretended that the two measures were independent of each other, whereas they were really inseparable. P. found that every one in London deplored L. G.'s folly, and yet they had let him go on. It is terrible at this crisis to have this skeleton in the cupboard of British statesmanship on our hands. Lady F. and I talked about old Dublin days when she was so attractive. She amused me by a story. She was up in London for a junket in those old days looking her best, and had gone round to all the expensive shops to buy hats

and things. She had a smart hansom with a smart young driver. When he deposited her at the house where she was lunching she paid him off and said, 'I should like to have taken you on, but I am sorry I can't afford to keep you.' 'That 's just what I was thinking about you, Miss,' replied the driver!

Sunday, April 21. Mr. Gilmour who came in to tea told us a characteristic story of L. G. The Propaganda had been placed in Carson's hands. Six weeks later Donald of the *Chronicle* had given L. G. a memorandum strongly criticising it. L. G. had given him a written order to look into it and report. L. G. had read Donald's report but not the defence of the department which exposed the inexactitudes of the report, and yet he explained to the H. of C. the appointments of Northcliffe and Beaverbrook by declaring that the Propaganda had been mismanaged! This is the way he does things.

Monday, April 22. Still no change in France. Met Arthur Henderson and George Lambert, M.P., late Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Henderson wants Robertson to take the War Office on a change of Government, but I resisted it and said that we wanted R. for C.I.G.S., and not as another Lord K., as it had not worked to have a soldier as S. of S. for War. H.'s account of the War Cabinet in his time very illuminating. L. G. was the War Cabinet and nobody else really counted. L. G. threatened to resign like a spoilt child, whenever he was opposed, and as his resignation would have brought the whole Cabinet down the rest always gave way. H. said that L. G. had made Hankey ask Austen Chamberlain and himself for all their Cabinet papers when they left the Cabinet. The course was unusual, but as Chamberlain had assented H. could not do less.

Met Reggie Pembroke, who leaves for Japan next week. He had just met Gwynne at lunch somewhere and had told him that he had confidently expected to see me beheaded, and that it was quite time as no member of his family had been beheaded since 1440! I met one Con-

stantine Brown who has been out in Rumania for the *Times* all along. He says that the collapse of Russia is complete and it is no use to talk of a restoration of her power. There are only plundering bands of Red Guards. The Germans are arming Germans and Austrians who have been prisoners in Russia, and sending them to Vologda, Kharkoff, Irkutsk, etc., to control the country. Mackensen with 27 mostly Austrian divisions is in the Ukraine; the divisions are 8000 bayonets if Austrian, and not more than 2000 to 4000 if German. He expects 10 Austro-German divisions to go to Mesopotamia. This is the report of the Alsatian and Arab deserters. Seven Rumanian divisions are taking over Bessarabia as a solatium for their loss of territory; the remaining 8 are returning under German staff officers to be demobilised. The good German divisions like the 11th and the 109th have gone to France from the Rumanian front. He does not think that the Bulgarians want to fight any more nor will attack Salonika. They have all they want. A lot of the Russian corps of officers are joining the Germans in order to make a living.

Tuesday, April 23. Met Charlie Burn just back from G.H.Q. again. He thinks that things are better, and says that Foch and Haig are on the best of terms. Met de Noailles at the Ritz. He says that Foch's H.Q. are now at a small village near Grandvilliers. Foch has no real staff, but it is growing. Fagalde and de Noailles still report to H.Q. at Paris, where there is no chief to replace Foch, but where Berthaut runs the Intelligence. Foch has no liaison with London, etc. Berthaut does not believe in an Austrian attack on Italy. Foch has no Armée de Manœuvre. He has 16 divisions in the line on the French battle front in Picardy, and only some 15 now in reserve, as 5 have gone north to help us on the Flanders side. Besides this Foch has only the divisions which he might call up from the eastern sectors of the French front. Foch has in fact little enough to fill the gaps, and a great counter-attack is not within his power. The news to-day is that the enemy is collecting his

masses on the Arras–Montdidier front against our 3rd and 4th Armies, and the impression is that another great affair is near. De N. says that both we and the French have had to break up divisions owing to want of men, and that Foch fears July most, as we shall then be at our weakest. De N. doubts whether the question of the French Channel ports has been squarely faced, and fears that it may be a political and not a military decision that will rule, though he feels sure that Foch will plump for keeping the two Armies together. De Noailles supposed that M. Cambon will not be at all pleased about Derby at Paris, but Clemenceau is said to be on good terms with Milner.

We hear to-day that Admiral Keyes has made a brilliant and apparently successful effort to block the ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge by sinking ships in the fairway. Also that Baron von Richthoven, the crack Boche flyer, was killed on Sunday last and has been buried on our side of the line. He claimed eighty Allied airmen as his victims. Lady Johnstone lunched with me and we talked Holland. She told me the reason for Sir Alan's dismissal as given to her by an illustrious personage. One of Bethmann Hollweg's fishing peace offers, over a year ago, had come to Holland over the German wires. The practice was for Reuter's men to translate a German message and send it on to London at once. This had been done in the usual way, and the report was in our Press and before our Cabinet when they met the next morning. They were furious at not having a report from Sir Alan, and determined to oust him as a proof of their activity. What Sir Alan had done was what he was in Holland for. He had consulted Loudon, the Dutch Foreign Minister, immediately he saw the report and had sent on his views, but not of course in time for the War Cabinet that morning.

Lady J. agrees with me that the neglect of the Low Countries by England, now as always, has been abysmal. There is evidently some Boche attempt just now to impose some conditions on Holland which the latter may be unable to accept, and there is an extraordinary sitting of the Dutch

Cabinet to-day. The Boches are out for the Scheldt of course, and the raid on the Flemish coast will make them all the more mad. It looks as if the naval side of the war might be growing warm. Wrote an article on Derby and Milner, and criticised L. G.'s latest excuse in the Commons on April 16, that we were not ready for the arrival with the colours of a new Boche contingent of 550,000 men. An unjust aspersion on Macdonogh's department I am sure, and we all know that a Boche contingent is not that figure now. Whigham has left the General Staff, and Maurice is replaced by P. de B. Radcliffe the gunner. Tim Harington down to replace Whigham, but Plumer naturally cannot spare him just now. I hear that our casualties up to Sunday last were 210,000. The French about 50,000.

Wednesday, April 24. More about the Flanders coast affair, which was very gallant. Ostend was a failure, but Zeebrugge a great success. We hear in the afternoon that a big Boche attack has begun on our front south of Arras, and that the enemy has taken a couple of villages and is worrying us with big new tanks. Lunched with Lady Paget to meet M. Cambon. Mr. Crosby the American and another also there. Cambon interesting. Lady P. taxed him about Clemenceau having given away the Emperor Karl's letter about Alsace Lorraine. I could see that Cambon did not approve of it. He said that Clemenceau was a journalist and polemical: he was like Colonel Repington, and was aggressive and fond of the offensive. As a journalist he could not resist the temptation of scoring off people, and hence these tears.

I told him that the Bon Dieu was on our side at last and that the age of miracles was not past, as we now created diplomats in a spring night. He wondered how Derby would do, and asked me what chance there was of getting recruits from Ireland now. I said that I saw none. Much talk of the Japanese. Cambon said that at first the Japs had determined to go into Siberia alone and desired no other help, least of all that of America, but that, since then, things had changed and Japan now saw the

advantage of Allied help. Cambon saw nothing for it but Japanese intervention. The Bolshevists were played out and had no power. Mr. Francis the U.S. Ambassador was still at Petrograd, and trusted to the reports of his man at Moscow. But Francis was beginning to find out his mistake now.

The Ambassador and I discussed the military position as we walked back to the Embassy together. We agreed that Foch had no great reserve to intervene, and only enough to fill the gaps, if that. We felt sure that there would be an outcry against Foch if he failed, and I said that I would defend him as I knew his difficulties. I saw General Sir Edward Locke Elliot, back from France to-day. He says that Haig told him this morning that his armies were 166,000 men short of their establishments when the Boche offensive began on March 21! Elliot furious and is going to see Austen Chamberlain to post him up in the facts.

Dined with Mrs. Greville; the McKennas, Lady Bingham, Mrs. Astor, Evan Charteris, Walter Burns, and Lord Granard. Granard has had an hour with L. G. at No. 10 to-day. L. G. attacked him furiously about the attitude of the R. C. Church in Ireland, and G. thinks that the P.M. is going in for a No Popery cry as a distraction. The *Times* attempts to raise this issue to-day, doubtless on inspiration. The War Cabinet collecting lightning conductors! Granard seems to have given L. G. a bit of his mind. McKenna told me that my articles had been the most terrible that he had ever known, and that they were ruining L. G. as I was an acknowledged authority. My articles and Colvin's inimitable irony in the leaders were the best things in the Press. We had cut out all the Radical journals. McKenna does not agree with me that L. G. is riding for a fall. He says that L. G. is a man who feels very cold when in the street.

Thursday, April 25. Wrote in the morning. A long Tribunal sitting in the afternoon. Dined with Lady Massereene and arrived half an hour late.; the Lionel Guests, Londonderry, Lady Carson, General X., Lady

Dufferin, Lord Queenborough, and Miss K. Norton, Grantley's daughter. After dinner there came in Sir John and Lady Lavery, Miss Elizabeth Asquith, the author of *Milestones*, and a few more. X. told us that when the resignation of Lord Rothermere was announced in the evening papers to-day all the Air Force waved the papers out of the windows at Headquarters and cheered. He told us that Johnny Baird was the real hero of the last three days. Trenchard, X. thought, had not a good case and would not come back. But Rothermere had written an extraordinary minute to the War Cabinet, saying what had been done and was to be done, without consulting Baird or his staff. Baird had seen a copy and found it both inaccurate and indefensible. So he took it round to the departments concerned and found that they had not been consulted and disapproved of most of the things, as did Baird. So he wrote to the War Cabinet, pointing these things out and refused to be responsible for supporting Rothermere in Parliament. So Rothermere had to go, and the letters exchanged between him and L. G. to-day were so much camouflage. Now they were in a nice mess over the debate on the question in the two Houses on Monday, and it was a real fix. X. expected that Sir William Weir would be appointed, as L. G. did not dare appoint Winston or Beaverbrook, and Weir was a right good man at his job. X. said that Rothermere was personally pleasant, but knew nothing, and had no idea how to run a great department. Londonderry hopes to hang on to the debate a moral about the soldier and politician, but all is uncertainty.

We talked of the battle, and it is agreed that this is not the great thing but a preliminary. Lady Carson told me how delighted she was when Sir Edward resigned from the War Cabinet. The Ulster Members, when the Home Rule Bill was introduced, intended to write and refuse, as Unionist Ulster Members, to receive the Whip of the Unionist party. She was bitter about one of Carson's late colleagues. Carson had recently met L. G.

by accident at a dinner given by G. Dawson. L. G. had asked himself at the last moment, and Dawson had apologised to Carson. L. G. went at Carson for his speech about Jellicoe, and Carson had answered back and claimed the right to speak upon a question which he understood and knew all about. A question of the newspapers came up and Carson said that he liked to hear both sides, and so read one Government and one independent paper. L. G. asked which they were, and Carson said that the *Times* was the Government organ and the *Morning Post* the independent organ. This made Dawson gloomy, and L. G. tried to help him out by saying that the *M.P.* had a smaller circulation. Carson rejoined that wherever he went he now found people reading the *Morning Post* in preference to the *Times*. Lady C. said that she was waiting for Sir E. outside the Club at Belfast the other day in her car, which had one window down. One 'shawlie' got on the step and looked in and examined her. Then she stepped down and said loudly 'It 's his wife!' Then a second 'shawlie' got up and poked her head in and bawled out as she got down, 'She 's vara young!' Whereupon a third mounted and poked her head in turn to have a good look, and then shouted rather contemptuously to her friends, 'She 's no si young as a' that!'

I drove Miss Norton and Lord Queenborough home. X. told me that I had done yeoman service for the Army since I left the *Times*.

Friday, April 26. The Australians retook Villers-Bretonneux on Wednesday night after it had been taken by the Boches. A fine feat of arms. The French lose Hangard. In the north the Boches have taken Kemmel Hill, a serious affair. I hear that Milner and Co. are off to France again. What a bore these parties must be to the commanders. Lunched with Olive and Arthur Murray. The latter told us his experiences in America. He is now back at the F.O., and a sort of liaison officer for Lord Reading, who is kept without information in the U.S. Called in to see Lady Juliet Duff in the after-

noon, and we discussed the Trenchard case. T. certainly left on a matter of principle, and because Rothermere not only consulted other people but acted on their advice without informing T., and T. considered him a danger to the country. A talk with Sir G. Arthur at the Carlton. There is no doubt that K.'s 1916 establishments were three battalions per division higher than the present scale. A. says that Hardinge called on Cambon to ask him to telephone to Paris to ask if Derby would be agreeable! and G. A. is very displeased with these country manners imposed by L. G.'s procedure. A letter from General Allenby dated April 4 only reached me to-day. He says that the attack in the West has apparently changed our plans and policy: he says that he does not see great conquests before him until our Western front is repaired. He says that I may be assured that he will take no unreasonable risks. He says that his railway may now advance from a mile to a mile and a half a day. He tells me the story of his raid across the Jordan to blow up the tunnel of the Hedjaz line at Amman, and why it failed, the reasons being too many Turks and too high mountains of Moab. He has about 35,000 Turks in his front, and one Boche regiment is reported to be coming his way from Salonika.

Saturday, April 27. Began an article on the Trenchard case, but am not sure whether I will finish it or await the debate. Lunched with the Charles Beresfords. They asked if I was alarmed by the military situation. I said that whenever the papers reported that our War Cabinet was sitting I was alarmed, but when they reported that it was sitting continuously I was frightened to death.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ZEEBRUGGE AND OSTEND, APRIL 1918

A visit to Admiral Sir Roger Keyes and the Dover patrol—The story of the blocking operations at Zeebrugge and Ostend—The audacious assault on the Zeebrugge mole—A deathless story—The question of the French Channel ports—Admiral Keyes's 'graveyard'—A night at the National Sporting Club—The Marquis Imperiali on Prince Lichnowsky—Talks with H. G. Wells and M. Huysmans—The Duke of Connaught's trip to Palestine—Stories from the Holy Land—M. Coleyn's treatment in England—General Maurice exposes the Government—The Unionists decide to support Mr. Lloyd George in the Maurice debate—Government majority 187 in consequence—The figures which justify Maurice—Our losses now 258,000—Mr. Otto Kahn on President Wilson—Colonel Slocum on the good comradeship of America—Admiral Keyes on his blocking operations—Lord French arrests the Sinn Fein leaders.

Sunday, April 28. Went down to Dover to have a good talk with Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, commanding the Dover Patrol, about the question of the French Channel ports which is becoming serious, and to hear about his Zeebrugge exploit. He has his house and offices in three lodging-houses looking over the centre of the harbour. He gets to the drawing-room of Lady Keyes from his working-room by the balcony. Lady Keyes a splendid woman, very keen and enthusiastic. It must be a bit of a trial for her to be at that house looking over the Channel at night, and hearing the guns when Sir Roger is Boche hunting. The Admiral is a cool and yet ardent spirit, as his recent exploit has shown. He is spare and of medium height. With him was Captain Carpenter of the *Vindictive*, who laid his ship alongside the mole at Zeebrugge so splendidly. Keyes said that Carpenter bore a charmed life, as nearly everything on his bridge was splintered and C. had the peak

of his cap shot off and his clothes riddled. C. added that he had that morning found shrapnel in the goggles which had been in his pocket. He remained one hour and five minutes alongside the mole. The more I hear of this affair the more audacious and yet well calculated I find it. A glance at the map giving the German batteries on the Belgian coast shows an almost uninterrupted chain of batteries, with infantry trenches and barbed wire almost continuous. There bear upon the two points attacked last Tuesday before dawn no fewer than 120 Boche heavy guns over 6 in. and running up to 11 in., 12 in., and 15 in., besides innumerable smaller ones. The volume of fire must have been tremendous, and yet Keyes, who led the attack in the destroyer *Warwick*, took in a whole fleet of unarmoured vessels of many small types, assaulted the mole, blew up its wooden shore end, and thrust two out of his three blocking ships well into the narrow entrance, where they were sunk athwart the channel as intended. The bows and stern of the *Iphigenia* in particular rest on the shallows uncovered at low water. There is no doubt about the success, as the aerial photographs show the position exactly. All the Boche guns, mines, nets, etc., were ineffective, and the amount of good staff work and minute preparation was really wonderful to have accomplished such a feat. On two occasions the armada had been collected for the attempt, but the wind changed on the last occasion and the Admiral had to give up the plan to his huge disgust. It was a hard decision to take, and showed great strength of character. He could not use wireless, as the first note gave the Boche the position of the ship using wireless by intersection from the Boche wireless stations, and a rain of heavy shells followed almost immediately. The motor boats led in and developed the smoke screen. Any wind N. of E. or W. would do. It rolled down upon the shore and might be mistaken for fog very easily. It obscured the searchlights and made their lights look red. The *Vindictive* followed in and made for the mole, using grapnels and gangways or ' brows ' lowered from a high false deck, but the surge

of the tide made it hard to stay close alongside, and one of the two auxiliaries, namely, the *Daffodil*, had to remain to press the *Vindictive* against the mole, and so could not put her landing parties on to the mole as intended, nor land her demolition parties. The other auxiliary, the *Iris*, could not land her parties, and suffered terribly. The main object was to silence the battery of ten guns at the sea end of the mole to prevent it from sinking the blocking ships as they went in, and this was accomplished, but the landing parties could not get very far towards the shore end of the mole owing to machine-gun fire. There was a Boche destroyer alongside the mole, and she brought down many of the ladders which our men placed to allow them to get down the 16-ft. drop from the sea crest of the mole to the inside surface. The motor boats also dropped smoke flares inside the mole, but the Boches fired on and sank most of them. The *Thetis*, the leading blocking ship, fouled the nets on the shore side of the string of armed barges defending the channel from the tip of the mole, became unmanageable, and took the ground just before reaching the entrance. She lies in a position where she may still be of use to make the harbour mouth silt up. The other two followed, *Intrepid* leading under Bonham-Carter, and went right in, scuttling themselves where ordered. They had crews of some 50 men each, and one motor launch under Dean alone brought away 120 of them, doing fine service. They were handed over to the *Warwick*. Among them was the commander of one of the scuttled ships who, though badly hit, went up to the *Warwick's* bridge to report to Keyes that his ship had been sunk where ordered, and took no notice of his wound, shrapnel in the thigh, till the end of the day. The feat of the old submarine under Lieut. Sandford, which destroyed the wooden structure at the shore end of the mole, was fine. Keyes said that it was about 500 to 1 that he was killed. He rammed his submarine right into the piles. The whole of this structure was manned by Boche Q.F. and machine guns. The submarine commander then exploded his ship. He had

five minutes to get away in a dinghy, of which the motor propulsion failed, and they had to row away fired at from every direction. They were picked up by a motor launch commanded by the submarine commander's brother. All the Boches on the wooden part of the mole affected by the explosion must have been killed. The gap made was over 100 feet. The total losses on our side were 588, of which about 330 on the *Vindictive*, which carried about 1000 men.

I saw the chart and followed out on it all the staff preparatory work, which was most interesting. The flotillas came from the Thames, Harwich, and from ports to westward of Dover, concentrating during the darkness. We have a watched line of mines off Ostend and Zeebrugge, some miles out. A gap was made in them and all our ships passed through, then diverging to Ostend and Zeebrugge. We knew the channels taken by the Boche submarines and followed them. Also Keyes knew from photos that certain areas were constantly crossed by the Boche ships, and so took no count of the fact that the Boches had declared them mined areas, and his inference was correct.

The failure at Ostend was due to a most unlucky chance. There was a Boche light-buoy a little west of the entrance. Our blocking ships were taking a correct line to the entrance when they saw the light-buoy which, unknown to them, had been moved by the Boches some time before, perhaps intentionally. They turned to port, and passing round the buoy made for what should have been the entrance had the buoy been in its old place. As it had been moved, they found themselves out of their reckoning and ran ashore as far east of the entrance as the moved buoy had formerly been west of it. Keyes intended to have another try to-night, using the much shattered *Vindictive*, which is the only ship he has for the purpose, though he longs for five ships. But the wind rose to 6 to-day, and the motor boats cannot work in a seaway. The next three days alone this month will serve his purpose. The officers and men who had the bad luck at Ostend are to do the business, which is this time to be reserved for the Dover Patrol alone. Tyrwhitt lent some

of his craft to Keyes for the operation, which was covered by five groups of destroyers, three in the Channel, one in the Downs, and one at Dunkirk. The Boche star shells were very good and far better than ours. While the attack was going on the Boches put down a tremendous barrage, but our ships were already inside it, and it passed over their heads. So it befell that all these unarmoured ships carried out their purpose in face of the most tremendous armament which has ever confronted any Navy. Truly a miracle of audacity and sound staff work.

The Admiral and I then discussed the question of the French Channel ports and the situation of our armies. He is of opinion that the loss of these ports will amount to a disaster, as he will not be able to keep going his minefield, and consequently not be able to protect the cross-Channel traffic or the trade of the Port of London. Keyes tells me that papers found on some captured Boches showed that 255 German submarines had passed the straits in 1917 up to Nov. 15 exclusive of July. Therefore the defence had been ineffective. Keyes now had a succession of lines of mines in a broad sweep, concave towards the east, between Folkestone and Cape Gris Nez.[1] They are defended by lines of trawlers and drifters, covered by the groups of destroyers to the east. His lines of mines were growing daily. His 'graveyard' chart shows the spots where twenty Boche submarines have been sunk since he took command in January. The trawlers and drifters fired on the U-boats, and the small destroyers attacked them with depth charges and drove them down upon the mines. A Boche officer blown up and saved said that it was now a point of honour with the Boche U-boat officers to go to the Flanders flotilla owing to the severity of its recent losses. There are interesting arrangements for reporting automatically the advent of a U-boat, which now signal themselves by an ingenious process due to some of our best electrical experts.

But if the French ports are lost the minefield can no longer be made safe. It can be turned on the French shore,

[1] These had been begun by Admiral Bacon: see 'The Dover Patrol.'

and Boche destroyers can play the deuce with the trawlers and drifters. At present Keyes counts much on the Anglo-French flotilla at Dunkirk, which can intercept on their return Boche flotillas striking at the minefield. Keyes values Dunkirk even more than Calais and Boulogne. He does not make such a strong point of the Port of London trade, though he referred to it. He and his officers are unanimous in pointing out the catastrophe which the loss of the command of the Channel would entail. Keyes went to G.H.Q. two days ago and saw Haig and Plumer. He deplored the little interest displayed in the naval side of the question, and thought that they looked gloomy and fatigued. I told him R.'s views and mine, namely, that we *might* lose the war if we abandoned the French Channel ports, but *must* lose it if we separated from the French. I thought that both the naval and the military opinions were correct and unanswerable, but that it was the Boche who would impose a decision on us.

Keyes has his men ready to demolish Dunkirk harbour. G.H.Q. had suggested that he should refer to the French Government. Keyes says that it concerned the safety of England, and he is getting ready for Calais and Boulogne too. I thought that no more serious problem of strategy had ever confronted a British Government. Keyes had not even been invited to attend the War Cabinet to give an opinion! He was not very anxious about the Boche long-range gun as it did so little harm, but he admits that it may in the end render Dover harbour untenable. We have no guns that can fire across the Straits, and we should only have the Boche gun for our target, and that might be seventy miles off. Winston has promised him a long-range gun in three months. Keyes prefers the Handley-Pages to any bombardment by guns, and thinks the future is with them. But we have only 10 besides the squadron near Nancy, and 3 of the 10 came to grief in his first abortive attempt on Zeebrugge. Keyes says that all the Boche flotillas are now at Bruges, and he hopes imprisoned, except what can get out by Ostend, but the big U-boats go north-about when they go out for long-distance raiding. We had

got one lately in his minefield, the U-109, a very big one. We had much interesting talk about invasion, which he totally disbelieves in owing to navigational difficulties, and I promised to criticise his papers on this subject if he would send them to me. As he had, at Gallipoli and Zeebrugge, carried out invasion under the most difficult conditions imaginable, I said that I thought that he should be the last to disbelieve in it along our 600 miles of east coast so poorly defended. We agreed how extraordinary it was that the Boche should have been so ahead of us in naval material of all sorts before the war. Even now the Boche destroyer guns outrange ours by 3000 yards and the boats outsteam us by three knots. The Admiral said that the sympathy of the fighting men of both services was with me in the recent prosecution. I returned to town by a late train.

Monday, April 29. Wrote an account of Zeebrugge for the *Morning Post*. Dined at the National Sporting Club with a party of a dozen or so, including Lords Churchill and Lambourne, Lord E. Hamilton, Sir Conan Doyle, Fitzgerald commanding the Blues in London, Sir Claude de Crespigny who was host, and a few more. Admiral Sims and some of his officers came in later. A good simple dinner, with good wine at 7 P.M., and we adjourned at 8.30 to see the boxing. A great crowd, atmosphere appalling, the room thick with dense smoke. We had front seats and saw three contests. The great event was the fight between Jimmy Wilde, a champion light-weight, and another unbeaten light-weight for £700. Wilde a wonderful boxer, quite a genius, and made short work of the other man. Conan Doyle and I worked our way out of the crowd with difficulty. He told me that he had lost £2000 by putting on the stage *The House of Temperley*. It had been too strong meat for the ladies in those days. Glad to have seen the N.S.C. on a big night, but have no wish to go again. Looked in to see Juliet about 10.30. I told her about Zeebrugge, and she told me about this afternoon's debate on the Trenchard case. The facts do not seem to have come out. A R.A.F. squadron commander told me that there were twenty squadrons with

240 planes immobilised in England for home defence. They were nearly useless to catch the Boches at night, and had lost some twenty men and had brought down only two or three Boches. He complained much of the number of posts found in the Air Service for useless folk.

Tuesday, April 30. We had a good day in France yesterday, and repulsed all Boche attacks in the north. Wrote a short article on Boche distribution. Lunched with Lady St. Helier to meet Brig.-Gen. Beale-Browne, and we discussed the state of the regiments in France. Lady Tweeddale came in.

Wednesday, May 1. Lunched with Lady Paget, and found the Italian Ambassador, Prince and Princess Zamouski, Sir Arthur, and one or two more. The Zamouskis gave us the worst possible accounts of Russia, whence they have just returned. Imperiali full of anecdotes and recollections of the critical days of 1914, and of how little Mensdorff had sold everybody. The Italians must have had a hard hand to play in those days. Imperiali thinks that Lichnowsky was playing to be Chancellor through an Entente with England after eliminating our Entente with France. It is said that Lichnowsky has written a book on Grey's policy, highly flattering. I wonder whether it can be better than L.'s revelations, which have already so completely justified Grey's action. Dined with the Scarbroughs and Sir Ronald Graham. S. and I discussed the Volunteers, and he will urge on people to send the Tribunals instructions how to apply the new law which entitles us to make every exempted man a 'volunteer.' Some more Balfour stories.

Thursday, May 2. The more we know of the fighting in Flanders last Monday the more clearly it appears that the German 4th Army got a severe knock from us and the French. Lunched with Madame Vandervelde, H. G. Wells, and Huysmans the Belgian Socialist. W. and H. very interesting, holding that we have done nothing to bring the German proletariat over to us, and so have only fought with one hand. H. saw the German Socialists at Stockholm and is consequently *très mal vu*, but he seems to me a real enthu-

siast and a patriot. He told us extraordinary stories of the way all Belgians spy upon the Germans in Belgium. He saw one man telephone from Brussels to the Belgian H.Q. at Havre. They had cleverly contrived a *raccordement* unknown to the Boche. He says that the Belgians get my articles smuggled in, and that I shall find myself extremely well known in Belgium after the war and much appreciated. Wells full of fun. Critical of Will Rothenstein's drawing of him, which gives him four chins and makes him appear a gross sensualist. His wife will never recover from the portrait. H. and W. agreed that our Labour people knew nothing of foreign countries, and would make a mess of any conference that they attended as they had no great ideals. Much talk of how to get the brain workers in with Labour.

Friday, May 3. Lunched with Mrs. Astor, Lady Randolph, Olive, Lady Juliet, General Brancker, and a couple of other men. A pleasant talk, and the hostess in great form. Went on afterwards to Lady A.'s, at 6 Connaught Place, to meet Lady Massereene who is still bent on her plan. Lady Curzon also there, looking like a pink rose. Drove Lady M. to Pall Mall. Then a long Tribunal. Dined with Olive, the Duke of Connaught, Lady Leslie, the Harry Higginses, and Pat. The Duke looking very well, and very full of his Palestine trip. He was nearly torpedoed on his return, the torpedo passing only 200 yards in front of his ship. He was escorted at the time. He spoke highly of Allenby. He has many stories of Palestine. One of a petition to Allenby by the natives ending by saying 'We hope that your Excellency will grant our prayer in remembrance of J. Christ, Esq., whom you so much resemble.' Another of some one asking a British sentry on the Mount of Olives where the said Mount was. The sentry replied, 'I don't know. Is it a public house?' The Sea of Galilee story which Van Swinderen told me one day is good but perhaps old. An American rowed out 200 yards with a fisherman, who showed him the spot where Christ walked upon the waters. He rowed back to shore and the boatman charged him 300 francs. 'The same old boats?' 'Yes,

sir.' 'The same families of boatmen?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Is this what has always been charged?' 'Yes, sir, always.' 'Wal! I don't wonder Christ walked!'

Had some talk with the Duke about affairs in France and about old days at Aldershot.

Saturday, May 4. Lunched with Mr. and Mrs. Harry Higgins, and found Baroness Daisy de Brienen, Mrs. Brinton, and Arthur Campbell. Miss Daisy full of the interned prisoners in Holland, whence she has just returned. She went on board her boat at the Hook on Tuesday and it only sailed on Saturday. She says that something must be done to get our interned men home. The German organisation for their interned men is a model. Before a man arrived all the ground was laid out, and there was a church built and schools for all sorts of arts and trades, while groups of officers and N.C.O.s have been distributed in Dutch Universities and big commercial houses, making good propaganda work. I must see Newton about this matter. She thinks that only 60 per cent. of the Dutch are now pro-ally. It used to be 75 per cent.

Dined with the Van Swinderens at 32 Green Street to meet M. Coleyn, the former War Minister. They were very irate because Coleyn had been invited over here by our F.O., and they now found him labelled a Kühlmann agent by Press Bureau *communiqués* of to-day's date. I saw the invitation telegram which brought Coleyn over. It is signed by Deterling, the head of the Anglo-Dutch Petroleum Control here, and Coleyn belongs to the Company and is the Dutch representative. But Van Swinderen declares that a man high up at our F.O. arranged the matter with Deterling, and the telegram certainly said that Maxse in Holland would give Coleyn all facilities coming and going. Yet now he is received by this chorus of evidently inspired paragraphs declaring him to be a Boche agent! What trickery is all this? They tell me that their differences with Germany are in way of settlement. The question of the Rhine ship trade and the Limburg railway will be settled by a compromise. *We* claim that *nothing* German can go

over these routes, and the Boches claim that *everything* can go. It is largely a question of whether, and if so to what extent, international duties override private contracts between States. The Dutch will agree to accept commercial trade but not troops or munitions. They assure me that there is no question pending at present about the navigation of the Scheldt, and Van S. thinks that the Kaiser really feels the obligation of chivalry towards Queen Wilhelmina. Coleyn declares that the rear echelons for the great Boche offensive stretched right back to the Rhine and even to Hanover. He says that there is an aerodrome near Amsterdam where we can plank down 100 aeroplanes. They agree that much is to be hoped if we can get nearer to the Liberal elements in Germany. A pleasant evening, and we had much talk of Dutch and German matters. We lose ourselves in conjectures about Coleyn's invitation and these curious inspired paragraphs making him out to be a German agent, which he swears he is not. He is here by invitation of our Foreign Office.

Sunday, May 5. Went down to the *Morning Post* office to have a talk with Hield and Colvin about the Coleyn affair. They showed me that the paragraphs about Coleyn had been given out at a meeting between the Admiralty and the Press. After discussion we conjecture how all this affair arose. L. G. just back from a visit to Abbeville. Reports that he has had another row with Clemenceau.

Monday, May 6. General Sir F. Maurice came to see Gwynne and me. To our astonishment Maurice has deliberately decided to contradict the account given by L. G. and Bonar Law in Parliament, and gave us a letter to insert to-morrow. M. has sent similar letters to some other papers. He had shown the letter to no soldier. He is risking his professional future by this brave act, but he says that there is no one else to do it and he feels that it is his duty to his country. Gwynne and I discussed ways and means and the line to be taken in the leader. Lunched with Theresa Lady Londonderry, and we had a good talk with many mutual confidences about past and

current affairs. She still wants Carson to lead the Unionist Party.

The French now have eleven divisions with us north of the Somme. All the measures which I advocated in January are now being tardily taken. Sixty-four battalions have been ordered home from distant theatres, and the two divisions from Palestine are now both in France. It is intended to place the Salonika divisions on the Indian basis and to bring many of the white troops to France. Hundreds of thousands of men are being called up, and vast numbers sent to France from England. We have ten divisions reconstituting. The grand attack is still expected on the Arras–Amiens front. If the enemy advances fifteen miles he will have done the trick, but Foch has most of his reserves round Amiens. Lord French made Viceroy of Ireland. I wish him joy of it. One plot is for Haig to be recalled and put in French's place and Plumer to have the command in France. Charlie Burn wants Robertson to have French's place to save Haig. We shall see what will happen about Maurice's revelations to-morrow. A fine warm spring day.

Tuesday, May 7. Still no great event in France. The weather wet again. Sir R. Keyes writes how much he and all concerned in the Zeebrugge affair appreciate my account of it. He says that the weather has been dead against him, but he hopes to make a good job of Ostend in the end, and that the plan has improved during the delay. This may mean that he has been given some more blocking ships. He says that he has news from France which is a great relief to him, and that his point of view is thoroughly appreciated by Foch and Haig. He adds that 'the other business' in which he is interested—meaning no doubt his minefield and the 'graveyard'—has been extraordinarily successful during the past week.

The Maurice case came up in the House to-day. Disciplinary measures are to be taken against Maurice, and Bonar Law suggests that two Judges of the High Court are to examine his charges against Ministers. Asquith asks for

a Parliamentary Inquiry, and the matter will be debated on Thursday. We are strongly supporting Maurice.

Wednesday, May 8. Got through a mass of correspondence. Lunched with Lady Rocksavage at 25 Park Lane, and found Lady Lovat, Orpen and Tonks the artists, and Mrs. Sheridan. Fagalde was to have joined us, but could not turn up. A beautiful house, and a glorious portrait of Lady R. by Sargent. A pleasant talk. Some one told the story of Rudyard Kipling, who had said that we had to support L. G. on the principle that if a man addicted to whisky-drinking tried to give it up he would get delirium tremens. A long Tribunal. Dined with Theresa Lady Londonderry at 5 Carlton House Terrace, and found Sir Edward Carson, the Maguires, Lady Meux, Lady Wolverton, and a few men. A good talk with Lady W. about Derby. She was pleased with some things that I had said of him, and was disgusted with his treatment by L. G. She complained of Balfour for having come over to the W.O. to induce Derby to go to Paris. We talked of Derby's action in the Robertson case and told each other our views. Carson in great form. He had been for three hours with the Unionists to-day, and says that their hate of Asquith overrides all other considerations and that they will not back him to-morrow in the Maurice debate. Carson says that it is no use for him to speak, as he will have no following. I told him that it was the man who mattered and not the mob. He says that the Sinn Feiners have been proved to be in correspondence with the Germans, and that the Boches recently landed from submarines, including one in Galway Bay, have confessed everything. Carson gave us some amusing stories from the old War Cabinets, and quoted two sets of sarcastic verses which he had made during these Cabinets, but, alas! I cannot remember them. I left early to talk to Sir M. Bonham-Carter at Brooks's, but I have no illusions about the debate and the division now that the Unionists will not play up. There will be a flaming *ex parte* statement by L. G. and no one in the House with the knowledge to reply to it.

Thursday, May 9. My article on Maurice comes out. Lunched at the Spanish Embassy. Very agreeable party: the Lyttons, Lady Curzon, Lady de Trafford, and de Noailles. Much talk about current events and people. I am told that there is trouble brewing in Morocco between Spain and France, and a talk of *us* exchanging Gibraltar against Tangier, Spain having Gib. and France all Morocco. This would suit neither us nor Spain. I can't think what lunatics should raise such a question at such a time. We got on to the Paris Embassy of course. I said that it had been used as a waste-paper basket for discarded politicians, and I gave the French Press description of Lord Derby as 'le type accompli d'un Lord-farmer.' Lady Lytton looking very lovely, and was very charming. Discussed many matters with the wife of the Ambassador, who was very gay and amusing. Lady Curzon produced a phial of amber and anointed our cigarettes with a drop of it. Could not get it out of my holder all the afternoon. It is said to give visions and to leave no one responsible for his or her action. A dangerous drug. A discussion on ladies' boots, and whether toes should be pointed or square. We decided that it did not matter for the ladies present as they could wear anything. Some political talk. All agree that the Government are safe to-day. Walked down the Mall with de Noailles. He says that things are now straightened out in France and relations excellent. We have thirty French and British utilisable divisions in reserve, and it is thought that we can hold, but a big attack is expected any moment, and the Amiens–Montdidier sector is the most probable objective. We raised the Channel ports question at Abbeville, and Clemenceau would not hear of it as it presumed that we should be beaten, which he would not admit. The Boches have a superiority over us in divisions. We British have ten divisions withdrawn for reconstituting. Twelve battalions are coming to us from Salonika. Sat on the Advisory Committee in the afternoon. Dined with Lady Massereene, and found Mrs. Astor, Mrs. Chaplin, Lady Idina Wallace, Lady de Trafford, General Brancker,

Lord Leitrim, and Lord Edward Gleichen. A gay party.

Friday, May 10. Studied the debate on Maurice's charges. The Government majority was 187. I must answer the P.M. Called in to see Lady M. and discussed the possible purchase of a paper by a friend of hers. Lunched at Londonderry House with Lady Londonderry. C. came in later from a journey. Hear that Lord French goes to Ireland to-night with Shaw as G.O.C. troops. French will be at the Royal Hospital, and no one will be at the Vice-Regal Lodge. It looks like a Military Governorship and an intention to harass the Sinn Feiners. Perhaps a compact between L. G. and the Unionists to keep him in office. I liked Laszlo's drawing of C. and his large picture of Lady Londonderry. The big rooms still full of wounded officers. Tea with Juliet Duff. Dined with Sir William and Lady Robertson and Sir F. and Lady Maurice. We had a good talk about events. M. disappointed at the result of his action, which we all thought had done harm in some ways though it had vindicated the Army. Lady M. very firm and courageous about it all. We hear that Allenby is indeed on his way home. We are all delighted at Roger Keyes completing his job on the Belgian coast by apparently blocking Ostend with the *Vindictive*. We think that the Boche attack is going to be hot when it comes, and that the Arras–Montdidier front will be the locality of the main attack. M. thinks that we have thirty-eight divisions in reserve, French and English.

Saturday, May 11. I received to-day the figures which enable me to reply to L. G.'s last speech.

These figures show that we had 1,069,831 British fighting troops on Jan. 1, 1917, and 969,283 on Jan. 1, 1918.

Thus General Maurice was correct in stating that our fighting strengths had diminished. L. G. was only able to claim that our strengths had increased by including labour as fighting men.

Maurice came up to Maryon in the morning, and we went through these figures and the report of L. G.'s speech. I learnt that Maurice had been away in France, April 14 to 18, and had there learnt the strong feelings caused by L. G.'s statements. He had left the W.O., Saturday, April 20, for a week's leave and had formally handed over his duties, April 29. His letter to Sir H. Wilson, complaining of L. G.'s figures, was dated April 30. To that letter he is still without a reply. The causes of our defeats in France we attribute to L. G.'s failure to keep up establishments and strengths, to the Eastern adventures, to the extension of our line, to the departure of the two Indian cavalry divisions for Palestine, and to the despatch of troops to Italy. Maurice tells me how seriously the sudden change of organisation of the infantry divisions in France affected efficiency, and how bad it was to make all the changes all at once, instead of slowly as in the French Army. He thinks our losses are now 258,000 and the French 70,000, and that the supposed German loss of 400,000 men has exhausted the German depots. He tells me that Haig told the Cabinet on December 15 last that he could only take over a two-division front to St. Quentin, and only then if kept up to strength. Any further extension, he told them, would be on the responsibility of the Government. The point about Maurice's charge *re* Versailles was to make the Government accept responsibility for the extension, as they had in fact assumed it. M. declares that L. G. told the Versailles Council that he had always been convinced that we were over-insured in the West!

Sir Frederick and Lady Maurice dined at Maryon. He has received his 'blue pill' and has been placed on retired pay for his breach of the King's Regulations. He has accepted a handsome offer from the *Daily Chronicle* to write for them, so he is financially *à l'abri*. We had a good talk over the article which I have written on his case, and over his first letter to his *D.C.* readers. They are both very brave about everything.

Monday, May 13. Finished an article on the war. My

Maurice article not back from the Censor yet. Lunched with Lady Paget, who has been ill with a liver chill, to meet Mr. Otto Kahn of America, who brought a charming daughter with him. The American Mr. Robinson and M. Bardac also there. Kahn a shortish thick-set man of middle age, evidently very capable, and talked well. He was interesting on the subject of President Wilson, who told him once that he had a single-track mind with no sidings and that conversations with active men devitalised him. This is why the President does not surround himself with first-rate men. He plays golf daily and has, even now, only one weekly Cabinet with seven men at it. There is no War Cabinet as such, but K. thinks that there will be a Republican majority at the Congressional elections in the autumn, and that then Congress will insist upon better co-ordination of effort. Wilson reserves himself for the big things. K. thinks him a tyrant, but courageous and single-minded. He will not hear of any after-war preparation as it is opposed to his idealism. He is fanatically opposed to Kaiserism, and stops Japan entering Siberia from the idealism which makes him still believe that liberty is stalking through Russia. K. thinks that he has no sense of realities, but is, after all, the biggest figure on the Allied side. K. is a Republican in politics. He says that the U.S. will produce 6,000,000 tons of shipping in a year, but that aeroplanes are awful and all are much disgusted with their failure. He says that Baker, the War Secretary, sought for ideal perfection instead of getting on with the good sound models, but he hopes that the Liberty engine is going to be all right. He says that 120,000 men have come over during the last six weeks. He thought that 95 per cent. of the German-Americans were now solid for the cause, and that all the West and Middle West were now well in. They tarred and feathered men daily for any pro-German ideas, and some were whipped. One township which had not subscribed to the Liberty loan was raided by armed men and each man made to subscribe according to his means. Otto Kahn has played a leading

rôle in making Americans of German extraction solid in the good cause.

Tuesday, May 14. I had an article on the military position to-day. Went to see Massingham at the *Nation* office and gave him the points of my article rejected by the Censor to help him in dealing with the Maurice case. We agreed that the tyranny of the Government surpassed all limits. It was the most shameless time, and the most corrupt in our modern history. Lunched with Maud and Arthur Robert. Went with Maud to get her passport at the Embassy. Looked in to have a talk with Colonel Slocum, the Military Attaché. He remarked how big a thing it was that America was doing in having no *Army* in France and in giving it all to Foch and us. Did we realise their self-sacrifice ? They had three of their divisions holding sectors in the East, and they had one north of Montdidier and two coming up probably to Amiens. They had put 21,000 men already by battalions into our divisions, and 32,000 more were arriving. They were presenting 35,000 men a week, and yet Pershing had no Army and practically nothing to command. It was all arranged by Baker with the President's approval. I must certainly allude to it. S. says that there are 207 divisions of Boches in France now and the Allies have 170 divisions, but the American divisions are over 27,000 strong. We discussed guns, aeroplanes, the Browning machine gun, etc. He tells me that the Liberty engine was at first of no use except for bombing squadrons, but that now the type was all right, and he hoped to see 10,000 by the fall of the year. The Browning was also good now. They knew that they had made great mistakes, but hoped that things were righting themselves. The regiment that marched through London yesterday had had only four months' training. It had taken eighteen days on the voyage. The *Olympic* had cut down a German U-boat off the Isle of Wight and had saved three officers and twelve men. A second U-boat had been sunk by a depth charge. The American casualties were not published here, and it was a pity. I agreed. Dined with

Lord and Lady Lamington at 26 Wilton Crescent, and found their daughter and Lord and Lady Scarbrough. A very pleasant evening. Scarbrough said that he had read again my article of Jan. 24, and that it was this article which had hit the Cabinet so hard and could not be answered. I had done my duty, and he advised me to turn to the war again and to restrict myself to it.

Met Sir George Aston to-day. He has taken a post on the War Cabinet, and I am glad. He pointed out to me the unprecedentedly close and cordial co-operation of the two fighting services in this war.

Wednesday, May 15. Lunched with Lord and Lady Beresford and Sir Robert Hudson, the latter of the National Liberal Federation for many years and a shrewd perspicacious man. Much talk of politics and the war. The Admiral said that at a private meeting at the Lords his friends had decided that they could not win the war with L. G., but did not know how to unseat him. The Admiral and I agreed entirely on the rôle of policy and strategy in war, and on the undesirability of having soldiers or sailors in the Cabinet. Dined with the Ernest Cunards at 27 Portman Square. Also there were Lord Lurgan, Lady Sarah Wilson, Sir Seymour Fortescue, Mrs. Arthur James, Sir Lionel Earle, and Lady Esmé Gordon Lennox, Lord de Ramsey's daughter. A pleasant party as always and everything very perfect, rooms, dinner, wine and the dinner table with the Waterford glass. Mrs. James is keeping on her horses at Newmarket for the time with George Lambton. Lady Esmé an interesting neighbour at dinner. We talked after of politics. Played Bridge. We were so noisy that Lady Sarah came in to protest from the next room. We chaffed all the time.

Thursday, May 16. Dined with Lady Massereene, who had Lord Crewe, Sir Sidney Greville, Jack Cowans, Lord and Lady Dufferin, the Count de Noailles, the Eric Chaplins, Mrs. Ronny Greville, and one or two more. Talked with Crewe of the old invasion inquiries in 1907

and 1913. He regretted that we had not examined the Continental questions and that we had only taken up invasion, but I reminded him that any one who had talked of Continental war in those days would have been derided and placed in the Tower or in Bedlam. I said that Lord Roberts had frequently tried to open up the larger issues and had never been allowed. Crewe thought that the Belgian question might have been raised, but that it would have depended on the prevalent feeling at the F.O. Jack told us that the Central Administration alone of the Food Control cost £3,500,000, of which £1,800,000 in wages, and that the printing bill of the Stationery Office was over a million. The most appalling extravagance was going on everywhere, and Crewe said that it was like the astronomical figures which were so big that they could not be grasped. I said that all M.P.s would soon have £5000 a year and every workman £10 a week. Then every one would want the war to go on and there would be no end to it. Mrs. Ronny's Scottish soul revolted against the cost of it all. De Noailles told us when I was talking of the châteaus in Northern France that in the Regency days an Early Victorian movement had swept over that part of the country and accounted for the appalling taste of the great houses. Jack and I left together. He said that things had been worse during the last fortnight than ever before. The French, British, and American troops were all mixed up. The result was that administration was becoming chaotic. Jack had lost some twenty hay ships torpedoed lately, and 5000 horses had died in consequence. Jack and others thought that there would not be an oversea attack on us. The Kaiser had often said to him that he would not care to be the man to undertake it. The Army Council had written some stiff letters about supply. Milner was doing well. Allenby said to be at home.

Friday, May 17. Took two proofs of my Memoirs, which I am calling *Vestigia*, to the Press Bureau, and had a chat

with Sir E. Cook and Sir Frank Swettenham. The latter showed me the Official Secrets Act of 1911, and the clause which makes it illegal for people to write about things which they have learnt in an official capacity. I assumed that this was a friendly hint for Fred Maurice, and passed it on to him. The Press Bureau have not forgiven the *Times* for their treatment of Sir F. E. Smith.

Saturday, May 18, *to Sunday, May* 26. Down to Coombe, and a very pleasant week-end in lovely weather, very hot, the gardens gorgeous and the finest show of azalias and rhododendrons conceivable. Otto Kahn and his pretty daughter turned up, with Mr. Cravath the head of the American Financial Commission in England, also Mrs. Astor, Lord D'Abernon, Vansittart, Bardac, Schneider the French flyer, Mme. Chasseloup Laubart, Mrs. O'Neill, and others. Talked a good deal with the two Americans, and found them anxious about Italy and asked me what would happen if Italy went out. I replied that the French Alpine frontier would be proof against attack as it was so strong. They were uneasy about administrative questions in France, and said that the French and English did not get on really well and could not understand each other. Kahn recommended me to write in the *Atlantic Monthly* as it would reach all the best people, and said that the *New York World* was distributing my articles widely among the middle classes. I should find that every one knew all about me and my views if I went out there. He said that the Americans paid much attention to personalities and appreciated my writings though I never went in for gush nor appealed to the masses. D'Abernon started the interesting idea that this was a war of opinion and almost a religious war of the old type, because Kaiserism was practically the Boche religion. A good idea to work out. On Sunday night a big air raid on London, and we went out into the garden to watch it. The raid went on from 11 to past 1 A.M. A tremendous barrage and many searchlights. We heard the Boche plane very distinctly. A wonderful sight, and we had a good view of it. In the morning I was glad to hear that Maryon

was all right, but many bombs had fallen in the West End, at the top of Portland Place and into Robinson and Fisher's opposite Christie's, and so on. Some 200 people killed and injured. We returned to town late on Monday evening.

I was occupied the rest of the week in writing an article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and on Food Supplies and Prisoners of War for the *Post*. The French have let us down about our prisoners, and have concluded an arrangement with the Germans without telling us. They are exchanging 330,000 all told, including Belgians, after we had all agreed against the principle of an exchange. Admiral Keyes writes to me that Ostend is not blocked and that the announcement that it was had infuriated him. He had bad luck, as his second blocking ship had a boiler accident only a few miles short of her destination and so could not be sent in. He says that no attempt has been made to clear Zeebrugge, and that Bruges is still full of Boche T.B.s and submarines. He fears that soon the enemy will be able to get out the small craft under the *Iphigenia's* stern, but says that they will have difficulty in keeping the passage open and that they have had to remove a pier abreast of the *Intrepid*. He also says that between 300 and 400 men landed on the mole and were there over an hour. The Boches say that only twelve men landed, and that all were captured. A good example of their lying. He writes more about invasion, expressing a strong disbelief in it, and declaring that the navigational difficulties of getting a large fleet of transports out of the Bight, mined as it now is, cannot possibly be exaggerated. He also thinks that, with the air reconnaissance now established at Yarmouth, the 'approach' for some months to come is bound to be detected a great distance away.

Finished the *Atlantic Monthly* article in the course of the week, and wrote another for the *Post* on German views of the situation and on the Waffenbund between Germany and Austria. Lord French has arrested all the Sinn Fein leaders on a charge of conspiracy with the Boches. On Saturday,

May 25, the official explanation was published. Very lame, and no evidence on which one could convict any one of them. The opinion is that it would have been much better to have arrested them under 'Dora' [1] for seditious talk than to have dragged in an Irish-German conspiracy and to have given so little evidence of it.

[1] The Defence of the Realm Act.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE CONTINUES MAY AND JUNE 1918

Third Phase of the German Offensive—The Rheims–Soissons front assaulted—Loss of the Chemin des Dames position—General Mahon on Ireland—The great effort of America in troop-transport—The Germans claim 175,000 prisoners and 2000 guns since March 21—A visit to Polesden-Lacey—Some interesting conversations—The Fourth Phase of the German attack—The Montdidier–Noyon front assailed—A visit to the Abbey House, Colchester—Expeditions to Archangel and Vladivostok — The Austrian offensive against Italy begins June 16—The attack repulsed—Mr. Montagu on India's military affairs—The first million Americans arrive—My memorandum on the war for the Colonial Premiers—Conversations at Coombe—Admiral Sims on the U-boat war—Major Robert Bacon's table of past and future American arrivals—General Maurice's views on the Western front.

Monday, May 27. *Third Phase.* This morning came the news that after the long standfast in the West the Germans have again attacked on the front Rheims–Soissons against English and French, and in the north on the Locre–Vermezeele line against the French. In the course of the day we had to infer that much of the Chemin des Dames is lost to us. Barnes in a speech wondered why the Germans knew so much and admitted that they had attacked a weak point, but the order went out later for his speech to be suppressed after it had been on all the tapes in the clubs and in the evening papers. In the afternoon to the *Post*, where Gwynne tells me that the Government are still warm on the suppression of the paper, which they wish to destroy as it is one of the few independent morning papers left. So we have to be very cautious. Will history ever realise the dirty games played by this administration and its Press

gang? Wrote an article for the *Post*. Dined with the Walter Burnses, and met Mr. and Mrs. Montagu—he just back from his long tour in India, having lost two stone in weight—Sir Lionel Earle, Mrs. Greville, Colonel Edward Coke, a Swedish Count, Miss Elizabeth Asquith, Lady Granard, and Mrs. Arthur James. Montagu and I talked of India's future war problems. He agrees with me to place the Eastern questions under India, though he doubts that the War Cabinet will agree, and says that he can raise 500,000 more men if allowed to go about it his own way, and that if India rules the Eastern campaigns her Civil Government must be strengthened. He spoke most highly of Charles Monro and said that he was admirable in Council. We were not at all happy about the news from France. It looks as if we had been surprised again. Edward Coke, just back from France, anathematised all the politicians without mercy after dinner. I was glad to have such a hearty supporter. He says that the soldiers mean to say a lot when they all come home. Please God they will. Lyon told me to-day that Clemenceau had sent over an expert to look into our Man-Power problem three weeks ago.

Tuesday, May 28. Last night's *communiqués* from France and those of this morning are quite bad. On the Aisne from Berry-au-Bac to the Forêt de Pinon, on a front of some thirty miles, the Boches have run over the French and have pursued them to the river and over it. Four of our divisions astride the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac involved in the defeat. They were tired divisions, two having been with Gough, and had been sent to this supposed quiet sector for a rest! It was a three-hour bombardment, and then the Boches came on in masses as on March 21. It was practically a surprise, and I expect that the Allies have lost a good lot of men and guns. The battle goes on south of the Aisne and the Boches are not checked yet. The initiative being with the Boches is the very devil. Lunched with Hubert Gough at the Naval and Military Club.

Wednesday, May 29. Tried a new Greek restaurant in Soho with Maud and Arthur Robert, and we had a mighty

bad lunch. Afterwards I had a talk with General Sir Bryan Mahon, late C.-in-C. in Ireland. He said that he had prepared for the arrest of the Sinn Feiners months ago, and had only been awaiting the word. But he had disagreed with Lord French's Proclamation which accused the Sinn Feiners of intriguing with Germany and asked Ireland to take up voluntary service. French had brought the Proclamation with him from the War Cabinet in London, and had shown it to Mahon, who had disapproved of it and had so informed French. Mahon said that there were no proofs of the German Sinn Fein plot, and that it was quite unnecessary to drag it in. The seditious speeches and acts of the Sinn Feiners were quite enough to act upon, as they had broken the Defence of the Realm Act.

Now, Ireland had been insulted, and even the Unionists were angry, while the Government could not produce the evidence to convict the men arrested and would get into needless trouble about it. Mahon says that no rebellion in Ireland will take place. There are over 80,000 troops there, of which 40,000 effectives, and our armoured cars and aeroplanes make risings impracticable. He says that French is going to try and work on Mahon's plan for raising 200,000 men, but Mahon says that the Proclamation and the arrests have changed things and that his former plan cannot now be enforced. The R.C. Church has got hold of the 'conscientious objector' clause, and the Irish are being advised to appeal under it. It is a deliciously Irish idea for the youth of that country, who are such tigers at fighting anybody, to describe themselves as conscientious objectors. Mahon does not know what the Government propose to do with him, but he has written to Milner and has offered to retire so that he may be employed again in any rank.

Thursday, May 30. I had another article on the battle in this morning's *Post*. The Aisne fight has gone precious badly. The enemy has crossed both the Aisne and the Vesle and threatens to take Soissons and Rheims. I have suggested that better means must be found for preventing these surprises, but that it is the German initiative arising

from our lack of troops that has caused the trouble. Lunched with Olive, Lady Leslie, Sir Vincent Caillard, and Colonel Heaton-Ellis. Caillard says that they have 100,000 workers at Vickers now, including 35,000 women. They are given a minimum standard to reach in guns, and as much more as they can turn out, but they can only reach the minimun standard with difficulty as labour is so much less efficient than it was. He expects, as I do, that there will be a considerable loss of guns in the battle. I write an article on some minor American and Italian successes.

An unknown lady, Miss A. Blake-Forster, writes to me from Caballero de Gracie, Madrid, as follows :

DEAR COLONEL,—I should be so glad if you would kindly tell me who Lord French is ? I should so *love* to know. Nobody here knows. I am nearly related to the double ff ffrenches, and should so like to know who Lord French is and where he was born. It interests me so much.

What, indeed, is fame !

Friday, May 31. The battle continues to go against us. Lunched with Mrs. Greville : the Max-Mullers, Lady Randolph and her young man, Maguire, Count Frasso, the Walter Rubenses, and a few more. Lady R. charming about her future. Mr. Porch quite good-looking and intelligent. They get married to-morrow and go to Windsor for the week-end. Winston says that he hopes marriage won't become the vogue among ladies of his mother's age. Lord Haldane dined at Maryon, and I showed him the chapters in *Vestigia* which concerned him most, and he approved of them and found no errors. He thought that my account [1] of the military conversations with the French was a chapter of history that had to be written, and was the introduction to all that followed. We talked much of the war.

Saturday, June 1. The battle still goes badly for us.

[1] The Censor's advisers would not allow this account to be published during the war, so I have embodied it now in these volumes, *vide* Chapter I.

The Boches have reached the Marne between Château-Thierry and Dormans, while the French are retiring from the Ailette. Saw Leo Maxse and Temple at the *Globe* office, and had a good talk with them about affairs. I returned my *Vestigia* proof to the Press Bureau. Saw X. at the F.O. and showed him the Kaiser letters. Found him gloomy about the war. L. G., Balfour, and Milner are in Paris. He asked me about Maurice's action and I told him all that I knew. He and Balfour have a high opinion of Maurice's ability, and X. told me how well M. had stuck to his points in the War Cabinet debates, and how surprised X. and A. J. B. were at M.'s action. X. confirmed to me that Hardinge had been obliged to go to the French Embassy late on the Saturday night to get Cambon to telephone to Poincaré for his *agrément* about Derby, as no Ambassador could be appointed without the approval of the Head of the State. Later in the evening a letter had been telegraphed to Lord Bertie in cipher, so the story of the latter having been awakened in the night to hear the news of his supersession is no doubt accurate. X. says that the whole thing was done in the most indecent manner, and he evidently disapproves altogether of Derby's appointment. He wonders whether any one is fussing about the separation of our troops and about what will happen to the troops if the Boches get to Paris and the French want to give in. He thinks directing circles here are paralysed. I said, 'Thank goodness, now we shall win!' A very hot day. Went down to Coombe late.

Sunday, June 2. A pleasant party, including Mr. McKenna, Lady Granard, Miss Kahn, Vansittart, Mr. Davis and Mr. McVicker of the American Embassy, Lord and Lady D'Abernon, Mrs. O'Neill, Lady Lowther, the Spanish Ambassador and Mme. Merry del Val, Reggie Paget, General Mahon, and a few more. A gorgeous day. Much talk about the war and political affairs with McKenna, Lady D'Abernon, and Lady Granard, and much tennis and Bridge. McKenna and I are agreed upon all the main

points of our situation. The two ladies very well informed, and thoroughly realise the true state of our affairs. Lady G. told me that my conduct throughout was universally approved. The two American men and I agree that the war must go on no matter what happens in France, and that we must steel our hearts against the German blackmail of trying to squeeze us into a peace by squeezing France. I said that the Germans were out for a big indemnity, and McKenna agreed, thinking however that Germany could stand her internal debt though she believed that she could not. Lady D'Abernon plays tennis well and has the figure of a girl still. For how many years has she been one of the most beautiful fair women in England ?

Monday, June 3. Motored back with Miss Kahn early to London. Wrote on the battle. Percy, now Duke of Northumberland, received the Press privately to-day and told them that the French Government has made a strongly worded protest against a statement, which he had made on Friday last, which unintentionally conveyed the impression that we doubted the French accounts of the situation. Our *Morning Post* representative received the impression that our governing circles are dissatisfied with Foch's leading. So soon ? I can trace the origin of the dissatisfaction easily enough. Haig was in Paris last Friday to meet our Ministers. They cannot be having a cheery time. But for the first time since May 27 the Boche attack is locally stayed, and yesterday but little ground was gained. The Boches have all the ground from Rheims to Château-Thierry on the Marne and thence north to Soissons. They have a good bit of the angle between the Oise and the Marne. Foch is attacking them on the line Château-Thierry–Soissons, and Gouraud on the Rheims side. Most people think that the Boche will attack on the Amiens front next before he marches on Paris. If he does not, our Armies will gain the time to recover and be reinforced.

Tuesday, June 4. Gwynne lunched with me and we discussed affairs at some length. We continue to be in close agreement. Wrote an article for the *Post* on the military

situation, including the need of training from which the Boches have profited so much behind their lines. Dined with Lady Granard at Forbes House: Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, Jack Cowans, Lady de Trafford, Lord and Lady Midleton, Sir Lionel Earle, Mr. and Mrs. McKenna, and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. A pleasant party. Mrs. McKenna says that she has just had the tenth anniversary of her wedding and has been ideally happy all the time. Talked with Asquith and McKenna after dinner. They both made the most severe reflections on all concerned in a recent case in the Law Courts, and McKenna thought it made public life almost impossible. Asquith much interested to know how the Press will comment on it. He thought Colvin by far the best leader writer on the Press, though he often thought him wrong-headed. Sir William Manning told me to-day that he had come over from America with a convoy of fourteen transports conveying 40,000 very fine troops, and that 244,000 had been landed in May. Jack Cowans says that 250,000 come in each month June and July. It will be a great record if it all works out and we are not beat in the interval. I should say that with the Yankee reinforcements, our troops from distant theatres, our youths of eighteen and a half, and the sweepings of our depots, we have nearly neutralised the numerical superiority of the Boches on March 21 last. If they had all come before we should not have had a beating.

Wednesday, June 5. Things reverting to the stationary in France for the moment, and not much change. Wrote on the Manifesto after the sixth meeting of the so-called Supreme War Council and on the value of America's help. A long Tribunal, and I was half an hour late for dinner with Mrs. Keppel. Found there Lady Granard, the Montagus, Lady Paget, Mr. Hamilton, Evan Charteris, Lady Esmé Gordon Lennox, Lord Wemyss, and a few more. A pleasant dinner, after which we discussed public affairs. Montagu told me that George Curzon had turned down his plans of Indian reform. I say that I will write on Eastern campaigns and ideas. Drove the Montagus home.

Thursday, June 6. The battle still stationary, but I do not much like the reports from Paris which disclose alarm, and I see that the German wireless, which we do not publish, claims to have taken 175,000 prisoners and over 2000 guns since March 21. Lunched with the Massereenes at the Ritz and saw a lot of people. Went on to Mrs. Astor's, where there came in Lady Essex and Ribblesdale. The hostess looking very well and fascinating, but will be laid up for some time yet. Dined with the Scarbroughs; the John Buchans, Lady Midleton, Lady Lugard, and the Vicomte de la Panouse. The latter uneasy, especially about the Amiens and Châlons railway and the Paris munition factories. He had translated my article of this morning for the French G.Q.G. and was much pleased with it. He had not much news, and I criticised the breaking up of our Armies. No one had any explanation to offer of the surprise of the Chemin des Dames. Lady Lugard agrees with me about our proper course to pursue if Paris falls, and about the need for keeping a stiff upper lip and not allowing the Boches to blackmail us about France.

Friday, June 7. Wrote an article about the surprises of March 21 and May 27 and their causes and effects. A long Tribunal. After dinner Lady Massereene and Mrs. Rigden came up to Maryon, and we had a talk over matters. They loved the house and the pictures and the quiet of the place.

Saturday, June 8, *to Monday, June* 10. Finished an article on the war showing that Paris and the Channel ports were objects subordinate to our principal aim of fighting back with the French and waiting for the American reinforcements. Went off to Polesden-Lacey to stay with Mrs. Greville, and arrived in time for lunch. Met Lord Gainford who was Jack Pease, the Liberal Whip and Patronage Secretary. Also found the Spanish Ambassador and Madame Merry del Val and Sir Hedworth Williamson, a Durham baronet who was very good company. Very hot. Played some hard single sets with the Ambassador. Lady Ridley came later, and we had some sets with her and Lord G.

Jack Cowans came before dinner, also Lady Granard and Sir Lionel Earle. On Sunday some golf in the morning on a good course, the greens in excellent order. Walked round the poultry and rabbit farm with Mrs. G. in the afternoon: many hundreds of bunnies and thousands of fowls. Some more hard single sets of tennis with the Ambassador. The place was looking very lovely in divine summer weather, and everything inside the house and out was remarkably well done and the hostess most agreeable. Jack drove me back to town in the morning of Monday. He is not very happy about affairs in France. He seldom sees Milner owing to the constant journeys of the latter to France. The separation of our troops, which are now much scattered by Foch, leads to great difficulties in supply. Some of our badly wounded from the Aisne were sent to the south of France and then back to England, spending seven days in the train; their operations were performed without chloroform, and there were no nurses. Our four divisions at the Aisne are now only one, owing to their heavy losses. An amusing description of the last Naval War Council in Paris. After much discussion it had been agreed that the British were to provide the Admiralissimo for the Mediterranean. Our people then went home, but next day the Italian sailors forgathered again and the Italian Admiral claimed the command. He said that he was senior officer, and urged that he had never allowed the Italian Fleet to leave harbour, and that they had consequently not lost a ship for eighteen months! He was however quite ready to help if it could be done without risk! The American General Bliss, on being asked what had happened, replied that the whole meeting, with the exception of the Italian Admiral, had been at sea. We are anxious about the railway plant stacked near Calais. There are rails for 600 miles of roadway, enough to get to Berlin, and some one is going over to see whether he can clear the decks. It is said that we have six positions entrenched, and that Rawly responds for the safety of the front at Amiens.

The Spanish Ambassador told me that Spain had been at

war for thirty-seven years during the nineteenth century, and that the whole country was determined to maintain neutrality. Turkey alone had been more often at war during the last century than Spain. We had helped them in Morocco, but Tangier was a great blemish and a centre for anti-Spanish intrigue. He sent nearly all his correspondence by post, and thought that the postal service had a sort of European patriotism in delivering everything sent. The only thing that he had to complain of was that the Censorship often forgot to replace enclosures in a letter opened by them. I had a good talk with Lady Ridley about politics, and found her views as sane as ever. Gainford a cool level-headed man. He is just now supervising the comb-out of Government Departments. He says that only three peers were made while he was Patronage Secretary, and all three for real services rendered to the State. How much we have changed lately! He also told me that he was responsible for Bonar Law being made a partner in his Glasgow iron firm. Lionel Earle gave us a full account of the treatment of his brother Max in Germany. It is a terrible story. He also told us about his Maternity Establishment during dinner, and we laughed at Hedworth Williamson's jokes about it till we nearly cried.

Monday, June 10. *Fourth Phase.* On arriving in London I heard that the Boches had attacked again on the Montdidier–Noyon front and had advanced five miles in their centre. They started their bombardment at 12 on Saturday night, and the infantry attack began at 4.30 A.M. Sunday. Lord Midleton came up to Maryon at 12.30, and we had a talk over his motion which comes on in the Lords on the 19th. He and the leading men in the Lords not in the Government were desirous of seeing Sir W. Robertson restored to a high position, and they were growing very anxious about the conduct of the war. We had a good talk about it all. He asked me in what position R. could best be placed, and I said as C.I.G.S., but I doubted whether he would serve under L. G. again. M. also suggested that second-line troops should hold a line round Paris, but I did not favour the idea

of suggesting military operations. Selborne and Salisbury are among his supporters, and they are going to haul the War Cabinet over the coals. I told M. how I regarded the whole situation, and walked with him to the Tube. In the afternoon Mr. Learoyd came up, and I opened to him the idea of Sir Hubert Gough taking up the job which the *Philadelphia Ledger* had offered me. He is cabling for his people's views.

Wednesday, June 12. The Boches have won all the hilly and wooded region S.W. of Noyon, and are now attacking to clear the Aisne of the French. Lunched with Mrs. Greville: M. de Grevenkop Castenskiold, the Danish Minister, —who told me that he had read all my articles, poor man— M. Mouravieff Apostol, Mrs. Bischoffsheim, Colin Agnew, and a few more. I liked Prince Bibesco's saying, in reply to the question who would win the war: 'The Boches have tried their utmost to win it for four years and have not succeeded, and the Allies have tried their hardest to lose it and have similarly failed. Who then can tell who will win?' Wrote an article and then dined with Sir Ernest Cassel at Brook House, to find the Edwin Montagus, the Maguires, Sir Alan Johnstone, and Lady Bingham. Sir E. C. gave us some wonderful old hock, very strong, and we had kid for the roast, very good and tender. Sir Ernest said that he was constantly citing me, and that I had been right all through the war.

Thursday, June 13. I had an article yesterday on the battle, and another to-day, the latter pointing out that four great German Armies stood on the British front still unused, and referring to the bed-rock principles on which our campaign of 1918 was, or should be, based, namely, keeping our Armies together and fighting back till the Americans came in great strength. I gave a warning about the Paris and Channel magnets which seem to me to be diverting us from our correct strategy. Lunched with the Londonderrys: Walter Long, Lady Massereene and another lady, and Sutherland the P.M.'s secretary. L. very warm about the Government's policy in Ireland, and he will attack it

on the 20th. Lady L. keen about the play *Loyalty*, which is anti-pacificist. I told her that Sutherland would square all the Government Press to boom the play, and that I would do my best for the independent Press. S. laughingly agreed. S. told me that it was Boche small parties with machine guns getting in rear of French positions that were doing the harm. Walter Long remarked that Lord French was a purely military Governor of Ireland. French is now at the Vice-Regal Lodge.

Friday, June 14. Wrote about Unity of Command and National Armies. Lunched at Wimborne House, and congratulated the Wimbornes on their step in the Peerage, which is well deserved as they have both striven their best in a hopeless task. Lady Cunard, Sir Arthur du Cros and a pleasant Frenchman, Jean du Hamel, who is attached to M. Bignon, head of the twenty-four French Committees in England. We had a great talk on the war, Wimborne, du Hamel, and I disputing in a friendly way. Du H. interested me by saying that the French munition works in Paris had been *dédoublé*, that is to say that part of them had been removed elsewhere in case of accidents. He agreed with me in my case about effectives, believing that we had been very remiss. He wants part of the English Army to defend the Channel ports if we have to retreat, and the rest to go back with the French. I admitted that it was a question whether we could now withdraw our Armies behind the Somme, but thought that if we did as he wished we should be first invested and then captured in the north while the French were beaten elsewhere. Wimborne thought peace necessary for France, but du H. and I opposed this warmly, and finally we all agreed that there was nothing for it but to fight it out. Du H. said that he had read all my articles and that my views were well known and highly appreciated throughout France. Curzon reported to be very despondent about affairs, and a Staff Officer from G.H.Q. has also brought black news to London. Happily there is still Clemenceau in charge.

A letter from Lord X. to-day attempting to place on Macready the responsibility for our lack of reserves! As if the

poor A.G. had not been literally howling for men for eighteen months!

Saturday and Sunday, June 15 *and* 16. Wrote an article on the new German art of war. After lunch motored down to the Abbey House, Colchester, with Mrs. Greville and her maid, to stay with Sir Cecil and Lady Bingham. We stopped at a town and had tea on the road. Cis commands a mobile division and this sector of the coast. A pleasant house with a good tennis lawn and the officers' club in adjoining ground. An old Henry VII. tower the only visible remains of the Abbey. I discovered that King Cole really lived, and that his bones rest here. General Pritchard and Miss Chauncey also at dinner. On Sunday, Cis and I motored round the defences. He is building pill-boxes at various points. He is no more enamoured of beach defence as a panacea than I am, and is organising defence in depth with General Snow's approval. Robertson appears to concur. A great shortage of men as usual. The beach defence fairly good otherwise. We motored through Walton on the Naze, Clacton, and Frinton. In this sector an invader must come inside the Gunfleet sands, and will be exposed to the heavy guns at Harwich. I found that the Army and Navy liaison had still made no progress. Frinton an attractive little seaside town with fine sands. We met the Duchess of Abercorn, who told us of the Sinn Fein raid on Baronscourt the other day. Ten motor cars full of masked men came. They found no arms, but stole sixteen bottles of whisky and some brandy and port. The maids still suffering from nerves in consequence. I find that two expeditions are starting: one for Archangel and the other for Vladivostok, to help Russians and take off 200,000 Czecho-Slavs. A wild-cat scheme as usual, and reprehensible when we need every man in France and every ship to bring over American troops. All the B 2 men are being taken away to Aldershot to form three divisions with cadres from France, and are then to be sent to Alsace. Foch said to refuse to go on unless this is done, but I do not credit it. The Boche, if he got to England now, would have an easy time of it. In the afternoon we played tennis.

Lords Althorp and Gage came, and Lady Eileen Clarke, Lady Ranfurly's daughter, with Miss Clarke, Coventry and his wife, all nice people. A very enjoyable visit.

Monday, June 17. Motored back to town with Mrs. Greville again, and we had long talks about people and things.

Tuesday, June 18. On Sunday the long-awaited Austrian offensive against Italy began at dawn. The enemy attacked on a broad front from the Astico to the Piave in the mountain zone, and all along the Piave front in the plains. The Austrians have 60 divisions engaged and 7500 guns it is said. Our three divisions under Cavan were fighting in the Astico sector and did well. The Austrians crossed the Piave on the Montello and lower down, but on the whole are held. I came up to town in the morning. Bonar Law and Asquith spoke on the war in the House of Commons to-day.

Wednesday, June 19. Wrote on this Austrian attack. In the evening dined with Mrs. Greville; Lord Crewe, Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, Sir Lionel Earle, Lord Richard and Lady Moyra Cavendish, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, and Sir R. Graham. A good dinner, and talk afterwards. Asquith thought that Bonar had been ineffective yesterday. A. thought the position very grave. Some candid criticism of the War Cabinet yesterday, and the H. of C. appear to be waking up. It is about time. Asquith asked me for my views about the war, and I gave them after dinner. Mrs. Asquith spoke freely about politics.

Thursday, June 20. Wrote again on the war. Lunched at the Ritz where 200 people had been turned away for want of room. Went to see Charlie Hawtrey in the *Naughty Wife,* and had a real good laugh at this capital comedy. Charlie as inimitable as usual. Gladys Cooper played the wife.

Friday, June 21. Wrote on 'Cabinet and War,' and commented on Curzon's speech in the Lords on the 18th. In the afternoon went to the Academy with Marjorie. We only cared for two or three pictures, the best portraits being by J. J. Shannon and Hacker. An interior or two and a fine grey and black snow scene by Farquharson also attracted us. We met George and Derek Keppel. Saw

the sarcophagus for Lord Ingestre. The recumbent figure is gilt. The Manners sarcophagus in bronze is fine and more simple.

Saturday, June 22. Down to Hallingbury for the week-end. Motoring from the station to the house we were run into by a lorry coming fast off a bridge where we could not see it. Both cars going a fair pace. A bad smash, both cars *hors de combat*. A man on the lorry broke his arm. A pleasant quiet time with Mrs. Lockett Agnew, her sister Mrs. Fielding, and Colin. We were all very happy in fine weather and the place looking lovely. I missed poor old Lockett every moment. On Sunday, Mr. Stacey, a yeoman farmer who farms 800 acres, came over and we had a talk about the land. He says that it will take three years to clean it up after the war, as want of labour has been so serious. Much land has been ploughed by order, with the result that the grass has been lost and only winter oats can now be sown. The price for mutton does not pay, and he says that there will be no sheep soon. He has Boche prisoners working for him. They are getting slack. They seem badly fed with 6 oz. of bread per man, 8 oz. of coffee without milk or sugar amongst twenty, and 2 lb. of Chinese pork amongst twenty per day.

Monday, June 24. Returned to town. The Austrians began to retire from the Piave on Saturday night, and the whole attack of the combined forces of Austria has failed. A happy affair. Nothing fresh in the West, but much news of Boche troops piling up for the grand finale.

Tuesday, June 25. Still no news. In the evening went to the Palace with Lady Paget, the Grand Duchess George, one of the Princesses, and Wolkoff, to see 'Hearts of the World,' a wonderful cinema show but very harrowing. Went on to the *Post* later and saw Gwynne, who wants me to put my ideas on paper for the Dominion Prime Ministers.

Wednesday, June 26. Lunched with the Ian Hamiltons; Mrs. Ronny Brooke, the Warres, Max Beerbohms, Lady Randolph, and some more. In the afternoon had tea with Maud R., and then sat in the park for the first time since

the war began, and saw various people. Called to ask after Lady Beresford with Eddy Wortley, and was glad to hear that she was well over her operation.

Thursday, June 27. Still reading up my diaries of 1917 to do Gwynne's memorandum. Tribunal later.

Tuesday, July 2. Dined with the Ernest Cunards in Portman Square: Lady Sarah, Jack Cowans, Mrs. Astor, George and Mrs. Keppel, Sir Lionel Earle, Mrs. Greville, Mr. Cravath, Mrs. Grosvenor, and Miss Kerr-Clark. A pleasant dinner. Earle tells me that the explosion reported to-day in the Midlands was at Chilworth, near Nottingham, and that the plan of the place had been forced through contrary to the advice of the Board of Works, when L. G. was at the Munitions Ministry. Had the main store of 6-in. shells gone up too, Nottingham would have been devastated. Cravath tells me that 300,000 more Americans will come over this month. There are over 1,000,000 already in France, a wonderful performance. I saw Colonel Slocum at the American Embassy yesterday, and he told me that 100,000 Americans were now doubled up with our Army, and that there are thirteen American divisions now in France besides. All are now going into the line as they arrive. We have news from France of various minor successes by all the Allies, but nothing on a very large scale. Another hospital ship, the *Llandovery Castle*, torpedoed in the Atlantic in circumstances of peculiar barbarity. Cunard tells me that his line has suffered much lately, and most of the loss has fallen on his new ships.

Wednesday, July 3. I have an article on the war in the *Post* to-day, and this morning wrote an appreciation of the Americans for their big day to-morrow. Lunched with the Edwin Montagus. He tells me that the natives of India are terrified at the idea of Japanese aggression, and that when anything happens on the frontier Japanese barbers and hawkers turn up and watch what is going on. Montagu exercised about Army affairs in India, and we discussed the present needs and future organisation. We agreed that in certain eventualities the East might become an important war theatre

in the latter part of 1919, *i.e.* provided that we held firm in France and that the war went on. We therefore both thought it wise that Monro should raise seven fresh divisions. India hopes to find 500,000 more men this year, but 400,000 are needed for drafts and the other 100,000 can only supply seven divisions. Where should they be used? I thought that it did not matter so long as they were available, for events would decide their destination.[1] We also were in agreement, as before, that India should control the Eastern operations, since India was the main source of the supply of troops, and our people here were too busy to keep touch with the East, but M. feared that the W.O. wished to have India as much under them as Gibraltar was, and to have the power of the higher appointments.

I said that I did not fear Japan since she was insular and could not withstand the maritime pressure of the Allies: also that I thought her loyal to her engagements. It was only if Japan and Germany coalesced that we should have trouble, but I thought that Japan, though very ambitious, would not kick over the traces and risk her destinies. M. asked me about a Territorial force for India and I was against it, unless Germany tried to invade India. She would do so, I thought, under the flag of Mohammedism. But for every division she sent from the West we could send another and more quickly, so that I was not much afraid of it, though M. told me of two Boche divisions on the way to Persia via Tiflis, and said that India would be more alarmed about it when this week's cables reached her than she was before. I thought that this Persian scheme was to harass us, and that our main interest was the defence of the Suez Canal and Egypt. But I thought that we should keep a good reserve in India, that Monro should be given a free hand, and that if India were given control of the Eastern operations she could apportion her troops to theatres of most consequence to her. M. will support this point of view. He again told me how much he

[1] In 1919 India had to employ 340,000 men in Trans-Indus operations.

appreciated Monro. I was for the Lawrence plan with the Indian Army, *i.e.* making it contented and safe, and M. admitted that we had to buy the men we raised. His Indian scheme is to be published on Friday, and he expects the *Morning Post* to slate him.

Dined with Lady Sarah Wilson at her new house 30 Great Cumberland Place. A nice house and attractive, but without the *boiserie* which was such a feature of 21 Hertford Street. The Winston Churchills, the Duchess of Westminster, Sir Godfrey Paine—a plain-speaking officer of the R.A.F., formerly one of the Sea Lords and now a General—the Duke of Marlborough, Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Mrs. Tom Bridges, Lady Sarah's boy, and two officers of the R.A.F. The Winstons late, and could not get in as we were at dinner. They saw us through the window as the folding doors were open, and Winston said that this punishment for being late was well planned and well deserved. Tom Bridges is on his way home, and evidently hopes to get to France again. He writes most favourably of Lord and Lady Reading. We had some talk of Independence Day to-morrow, and I took the line, as I have done in the *Morning Post*, that I did not see why I should commemorate the day except in sackcloth and ashes, but that to commemorate America's action now I was prepared to go about covered with American flags. Winston does not agree. He is to speak on Independence Day to-morrow. The Winstons have sold 33 Eccleston Square to the Labour Party, and they are living at their new country house. After dinner the younger Air Force officers from the Navy, or rather one of them in particular, complained a good deal of being 'soldierised,' and Paine fell upon him and slated him finely. Paine in the new light-blue Air Force uniform, something between the French and Italian colour and quite smart. He was very severe, and Winston admitted that Paine when at the Admiralty terrified him. He is a plain-spoken man, and lets drive straight from the shoulder. He told me that the Boches were getting short of machines and that the Boche squadrons had only six to eight

aeroplanes each now, and that it was a good symptom. An agreeable evening, but all rather despondent about the new fuel and light regulations which threaten a bad winter for us all. The Duchess of W. interesting upon the subject of the Boche raids on our hospitals in France, and upon our concealment of our losses by them. The bombs fell very near her hospital. She has no car, and went home by bus. Mrs. C. B. went home in a pill-box drawn by a sorry grey Rosinante. The mighty are much fallen.

Thursday, July 4. My article on the Americans appears. London much beflagged with the star-spangled banner, and various speeches and demonstrations of friendship, especially a great base-ball match at Stamford Bridge, attended by the King. Last night there came out from Washington a table showing the number of troops sent over the water by the U.S. since May 1917. It amounts to over 1,000,000 men, and the figure for June is 274,000, a wonderful performance. Lunched with Lady Massereene, and met Lady Curzon and Lady Idina Wallace, Mrs. Rigden, Mr. McVicker, and Maxwell. Lady C. in a fury because a certain person here has offended her. Lady C. wants his blood, and I do not wonder. A great talk about Independence Day and kindred matters.

Friday, July 5. We celebrated July 4 yesterday by an Australian-American capture of Hamel and Vaire Wood, south of the Somme, while the French took ground north of the Aisne. Total bag of some 2000 Boches in the two encounters. Allenby writes to me much amused about the many reports of his supposed visit to England, and hopes that his double behaved decently and kept up his good character ! He says that the Boche is giving a lot of trouble in the West, but appears to be held now, and he trusts that the Americans will soon be pulling their weight. He says that things are fairly quiet in Palestine. He is persecuting mosquitoes and trying to extirpate malaria from the Jordan Valley and the marshes on the sea coast. He says that his men can stand the heat if they can down the fever.

Lunched with Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck in Richmond

Terrace, and found Frank Curzon, the Duchess of Rutland, and another lady. Lady Diana laid up with the 'flu, and very miserable. Mrs. C. B. still keeps her house, and is going to shelter twelve American nurses on passage and so stave off eviction. She goes with her daughter, Mrs. Burns, to the Granards in Ireland at the end of the month. Much talk of artists and sculptors, and F. C. wants me to look at the Lower Chapel at Eton and suggest how to fill in the space over the names of Etonians in the Memorial. The Duchess thinks that Shannon has never painted better than this year. He has recovered from paralysis, thanks to some new discovery of science, but is still unable to get about much. She advises us to go to the schools to find a young artist who may achieve fame and will paint a portrait without charging £500 for it. The Duke has his Garter: only the King at the function. Every one thinks that the fuel and light orders must be modified as no one can keep to them. The gas we use in a month has now to last us a year, and electricity and coal nearly as bad. Many people stacking wood against next winter's terrors. Lord Rhondda dead. Also the Sultan of Turkey, a nonentity. A talk with Gywnne and Colvin at the *Morning Post* office. Hughes and Borden have told G. that if there are negotiations in progress they have not been informed. Montagu's Indian Reforms out. Colvin thinks him a Bolshevist.

The following is the text of my memorandum written for Gwynne for the Dominion Premiers:

DOMINION PREMIERS AND THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

EDITOR,—You have asked me for my views upon the services which the Dominion Premiers, now in London, can render towards the more vigorous and intelligent conduct of the war.

The services which they can render would be invaluable provided that they were accurately informed of the real situation, and, secondly, that they were in agreement concerning the reforms in the higher direction of the war which they proposed to urge upon our War Cabinet.

The cardinal fault of the War Cabinet during the last eighteen

months has been to misconceive the military situation, and to refuse to carry out the recommendations of their military advisers. As I do not know how much the Premiers have been told I will mention a few of the leading facts.

In the course of the year 1916 the Germans increased their field strengths by 700,000 men, and we made no additions to ours. In November 1916 the Germans had 200 field divisions, of which 126 were in the West. By February 1917 the 56 new German divisions were ready. Germany at that date had 256 divisions, of which 137 were in the West. They had 157 divisions in the West by April 1917, and the figure fell to 147 in September. Directly the Russian situation was cleared up the German movement westwards from the Russian front began. The Germans sent West between September and November 1917 six divisions on balance, and 100,000 drafts, making up about 200,000 men. By January 1918 there were again 157 German divisions in the West, and others were arriving from the East at the rate of eight to twelve per month. There were 165 German divisions in the West by January 18, 177 by February, 184 by March 7, and about 193 when they attacked on March 21. By May there were 205 divisions, and the figure may grow to 220. There was no excuse for ignorance of these facts. The probability of the movements was patent. The French Headquarters informed me last October that sixty more German divisions might come across from the Russian front, and that we might be faced by an aggregate of 3,000,000 Germans in the West, with 1,500,000 more in the depots and on the lines of communication. There was no question of surprise. All these changes were known to our Intelligence Service at the dates which I have mentioned, and were duly reported to the War Cabinet. These changes did not prompt the War Cabinet to take any countervailing action.

The French were played out, and General Pétain informed me last October that he would automatically lose ten divisions by March 1918, owing to lack of men, and, in fact, he did so. The Italians were licking their wounds and reorganising. In Russia chaos was becoming more chaotic. Our Portuguese divisions were not kept up, and the Belgians had but few reserves. Pétain felt and told me that the American arrivals up to March 1918 would not do more than make up for his own automatic losses, and so it turned out. It devolved upon England, last October at latest, to call out her reserves of strength in order to hold the

pass until the Americans came in strength. It is because our War Cabinet failed to do so that all our disappointments have occurred.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was the War Cabinet, never made the situation clear to our public, and steadily refused, until after the defeat of March 21 of this year, to face the music of facts. In spite of the persistent warnings of Sir William Robertson, he refused to ask the country for the necessary men, and his speeches were mainly devoted to the creation of an atmosphere favourable to himself in the House of Commons. He and his War Cabinet had become convinced by the exercise of their imagination that there was a stalemate in the West. He hated losses, stated on many occasions, and even at Versailles, that we were over-insured in the West, and allowed himself to be beguiled by his own inclinations and the advice of amateurs and visionaries into the pursuit of peace by 'knocking out the Turk.' We had 1,300,000 men drawing rations in our Eastern theatres of war when the Germans attacked us on March 21. Dispersion of force and failure to develop strength in the principal theatre have been the twin causes of our defeats.

In January 1917 we had 4,000,000 men of military age, up to forty-one, in civil occupations, but the Prime Minister would not call upon them, and when the campaign of that year began we had only 400,000 drafting troops at home, including 250,000 infantry, of whom 180,000 were either untrained or boys of eighteen to nineteen. In March 1917 we had an aggregate of 5,000,000 men, including Dominion troops and Labour, in our Armies, but only 2,000,000 aggregate in France, and of these only 1,000,000 fighting troops. I personally informed the Prime Minister of the real situation in March 1917, and gave him the strongest warning. He did nothing. Haig's figures showed deficits all through the year, and at the end of it he was 116,000 men down in infantry alone. He fought the campaign of 1917 with half the number of divisions which opposed him. His troops could not be properly trained or rested owing to want of drafts and spare divisions. When drafts came they were always late, and, being untrained, suffered excessive losses on many occasions. Owing to the physical exhaustion of our troops the number of wounded able to return to France fell from 60 to 40 per cent. Owing to the dangerous situation of our Armies I left the *Times* in January 1918. The *Times* would not support my views. . . .

On January 1, 1918, despite the German increases and transfers to the West, we were 100,000 fighting men below our figure of January 1, 1917. The Premiers can ask the Adjutant-General for the figures if they doubt mine. There were so few drafts that the War Cabinet had secretly to reduce our divisions from twelve to nine battalions, the battalions reduced being used as drafts, while four home-defence divisions were similarly used. Our line in France was unduly extended, in spite of the protests of Haig, and it was at the moment when all these weakening causes were in fullest operation that the German attack came on March 21. The defeat at St. Quentin was the natural consequence. Two French Armies had to take over the front of our 5th Army, and from the French reserves some fifteen more divisions had to strengthen our line in the north. Foch became Commander-in-Chief at the end of March, but the necessity for bolstering up our Armies had caused him to be weak elsewhere, and his defeat on the Aisne was the next consequence. The whole story is of one piece since Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, and effect has followed cause in logical sequence.

Though it is, of course, true that Russia's collapse was the primary cause of our defeats, this collapse was patent at latest by July 1917, when the Russian Southern Armies refused to fight any more. The terrible fault of Mr. Lloyd George and his War Cabinet was not to prepare in any way for the inevitable consequences. Even so late as February 1918, at the Versailles War Council, in reply to energetic French remonstrances, he declared that there would be a social revolution if he asked England for more men, and the French told me that they could not prolong the discussion without breaking up the Council. When the defeat of March compelled the Prime Minister to do his duty there was no social revolution, nor even a whimper. The saying that people have the Government that they deserve has not been true of our people in 1914-18. The people have been splendid all through. It is not possible for a War Cabinet to succeed when neither the First Lord nor the Secretaries for War and Foreign Affairs are members of it, and I hope that the Dominion Premiers may alter this state of affairs.

The Germans claim (Wireless of June 20) to have taken 212,000 prisoners, 2800 guns, and 8000 machine-guns since March 21. They claim to have gained 2460 square miles of ground. These German gains, added to our dead and wounded, represent the

results of bad policy deliberately pursued for eighteen months in face of the strongest military advice. Our people are not allowed to read the German Wireless. It is considered too strong meat for their weak digestions.

The result of the fighting from March 21 to the end of May was to place *hors de combat* at least ten British divisions. How many of these have been reconstituted I am not sure, but the Premiers can inquire. Some 100,000 Americans have been incorporated in our Armies in France to make up for the gross neglect of the War Cabinet to maintain them and to look ahead. It was a noble act of America to come to our aid in this manner, but the incorporation of American citizens in our ranks presents dangers. The Americans want their men back, and I hope that the Premiers will expedite arrangements to replace them. Where should we be now were not the Americans five months ahead of their programme ? I believe that Haig was 210,000 men down about three weeks ago, and I hope that the Premiers will look carefully into figures and compare those put forward by the War Cabinet, the A.G., and G.H.Q. respectively. They often differ materially, and the Premiers should ask for the figures of British fighting troops only.

I hope that our new Service Act, though it came nine months too late, combined with the remarkable arrivals of American troops and the hasty withdrawal of 64 of our battalions from distant theatres of war, may enable us to win the great battle daily awaited, but I cannot trust a War Cabinet which has so conspicuously failed the country. As it has similarly failed the Dominions, I submit that the Dominion Premiers should unitedly demand that they may be represented in the War Cabinet till the end of the war, and that their representatives should be strong and independent men, not susceptible to any influences or blandishments such as those which have prevented the greater part of our Press, and the House of Commons, from doing their duty towards the country during the last eighteen months.

The Dominion representatives should attend the Allied Navy Council, whose acts greatly concern them, and should have full access to the records of the Admiralty and the War Office, and of G.H.Q. in France. Our difficulty throughout this war has been to get the truth made known, and the necessary action taken. Soldiers and sailors have to incline to any policy dictated by the Cabinet. Their mouths are sealed, but Dominion representatives

in the War Cabinet would be free to speak on matters of policy. They would have the good of the Empire as their guiding star, and that alone.

I am anxious about the direction of military operations. We have lost at home our best strategist and a man universally trusted by the Army and our Allies. . . . In France we have accepted a French Commander-in-Chief. Few people understand that the French desire is to break up our national Armies and assume entire control of them. The political, military, and administrative dangers of such measures, which have already gone much too far, are, in my opinion, very great, and will become greater if things go wrong in battle.

The Allied War Council, instead of being an organ for the general direction of Allied policy in a world-war, has become an instrument for the direction of military operations. It has mistaken its rôle. It should hold its meetings in London, and not in a capital under fire and liable to capture by the enemy. Who regulates the campaigns of Salonika, Palestine, Mesopotamia ? No one knows. If the war continues and we hold our own in France, operations may extend once more to Russia and other Eastern theatres. The Generalissimo's action is limited to France, and we need that the Allied War Council should adopt a broader outlook, and reserve itself for great things. Can one conceive a greater muddle than the question of Japanese intervention in Siberia ?

If the Dominion Premiers will demand complete information on the matters to which I have alluded ; if they will promote the necessary changes in the War Cabinet, and in the functions of the Allied War Council ; and, finally, if they will leave behind them trusty representatives to keep matters straight in future, they will have done much to reform the higher direction of the war. C. À COURT REPINGTON.

July 1, 1918.

Weeek-end, July 6-7. Down to Coombe to stay with the Pagets, and just as I arrived heard that the young Lady Londonderry had narrowly escaped death at Malden Station and was being doctored there. Cravath arrived in his car, and we went off at once to help. Found that the Londonderrys and Ricardo had come down for golf and that

all three had jumped out of the train while it was in motion. Lady L. had jumped last, and had rolled off the platform below the footboard. One or two carriages passed almost over her after she had fallen, and the shoe of the last carriage, used for picking up electricity, and hanging loose, had struck her on the back of the head, inflicting a deepish wound which bled a good deal and had to be sewn up in the ladies' waiting-room. All the back of her dress was torn, and she was much bruised. But to every one's amazement she jumped up after the train had passed, and quite coolly and cheerfully declared that she had not been hurt, and was helped up to the platform. After the doctor had bandaged her up she and L. took Cravath's car back to London, Lady L. much more calm and collected than any one else. It must have been a pretty terrible moment for L., and was a most providential escape. Later came a message to say that she was doing well.

A large party came and went at various hours, including Mr. Cravath; Colonel Griscom, liaison officer between Pershing and the War Cabinet, and formerly U.S. Ambassador at Rome; Major Robert Bacon, formerly Ambassador at Paris, and now at our G.H.Q., whom I had met and liked much when visiting Pershing in October last; Sir Ronald Graham, Mrs. George Keppel, Countess Torby, the Duchess of Westminster who is off to her hospital in France tomorrow again, Mrs. Astor, Mrs. Taylor, the Comte de Noailles, the Italian Ambassador and the Marchesa, General Ashmore in charge of the London Air Defences, Mrs. Ward (Miss Muriel Wilson), and four fine tennis players, Mr. O'Neill, Miss Tulloch, Colonel Haze, and Colonel Thompson, with a few others.

From talks during this week-end I learnt that all the French divisions except one had now been withdrawn from the British line, and that thanks to our troops which have come from Eastern theatres, added to our drafts and the American loaned troops, we have nearly resuscitated most of the 10 divisions which were knocked to bits at the battle of St. Quentin. Haig has now 18 divisions out of the line. The Boches have still not more than 205 to 207 divisions in

the West, including 60 to 65 in reserve, and it is thought that Foch can deal with these with our joint reserves. The Americans have now 12 divisions in the line. It is pointed out to me that the American troops have been training since August last and are far from green. Some think that three months' intensive training is better than nine, since it is mainly physical, and the longer course makes troops stale. All agree that the real war training can only be given in the atmosphere of the battle ground.

It appears that there were some rather sharp discussions after March 21 about the hastening of American arrivals. Pershing had desired that all American troops should come as divisions and that an American Army front should be constituted as soon as possible, but the urgent need for drafts had caused this to be ruled out. Pershing's attitude had been resented by some highly placed people here, and Griscom was sore about it, but Lady Paget and I were able to assure him that we had not heard one single word of criticism of Pershing, and that it must have come from those who had been found out for not supplying our troops with British drafts. When it became a question of helping the Americans to bring over their infantry and machine gunners quickly we were able to lend them a great mass of tonnage, and our other Allies naturally wondered why we had not lent it before. Every Ally seems to be holding on to his tonnage and to be very miserly about it, but anyhow things are going well now. Cravath seems to think that in a month or two we shall have 1,500,000 Americans here, and that owing to maintenance difficulties this will be the limit for a time, though another 1,500,000 will be in training in the States. Pershing will then get his guns and auxiliary services, and will gradually re-create his divisions as we are able to replace the Americans who have joined us. No date has been fixed for this ; we are simply to replace them as soon as possible, and L. G. in a recent speech has admitted that this is part of our agreement with America. All the news from the U.S. seems to be good, and that great country is doing finely and is enthusiastic about the war. I told the

Americans at Coombe that the use of their people as drafts for our Army was a great experiment and was not without risks and dangers. They find the French difficult and the language bar a serious inconvenience.

There seems to be no doubt that Pétain expected an attack on the Chemin des Dames but that Foch disbelieved in it. Now it is thought by Cornwall, who has replaced Cox on Macdonogh's staff in London, that there will be an attack east of Rheims, and then another against us in the north, followed by the main effort in the centre, but much seems conjecture. Poor Pershing spends much of his time on the road, as his divisions and troops are so much scattered. Our instructors have impressed upon our American pupils the primacy of the rifle as an arm, and in their recent fight the U.S. troops have proved most apt pupils in this direction. Griscom tells me that in his New York division there were many races and eighty-four different religions. The blacks are in separate formations. There are some black volunteers. One, after suffering all the torments of trench life, from rheumatism to lice inclusive, went to hospital and asked the doctor to examine his head. The doctor found nothing wrong. 'Look again,' said the darkie. A further search revealed nothing amiss. 'But there *must* be, doc,' said the nigger, 'or I should not have been such a fool as to come here at all!'

Ashmore tells me that the 3rd Hun bombing squadron which is specially detailed to bomb London is at full strength, and so Paine's remarks cannot apply to it. A. thinks that there are some special aeroplanes in Hun hands to enable them to overcome his blanket defence. Graham thinks that the Huns are having a bad time in the Ukraine, and there is news to-day that Mirbach the German Ambassador in Moscow has been murdered, and that Moscow is in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. The Countess Torby still very sarcastic about our joy at the Russian revolution and scoffs at democracy, saying she did not know what the word meant, and protests that the success of America was due to President Wilson's autocratic and not democratic

powers. I challenged Cravath to pick up this gauntlet, and he described democracy as government by consent of the governed. If the latter chose to set up autocratic rule for a special purpose, this was their affair. The point was that it was with their approval, not with their disapproval, and it could, in principle, be revoked at any time.

Monday, July 8. Drove back to town with Cravath and Graham. We had much talk of affairs. Three better or more representative Americans than Cravath, Griscom, and Bacon, it would be hard to find.

In the evening I dined with the American mission at 41 Upper Grosvenor Street: General Biddle, Bacon, Griscom, Admiral Sims and an Aide. I expected a man's dinner, but found that once a fortnight or so there is a regular dinner party, and there were Lord and Lady Midleton, Lady Elcho, Lady Herbert, Mrs. Astor, and Miss Chaplin. A good house well furnished, and an excellent dinner with good wine. I had some talk with the Admiral, who told me that a year ago the Boches were actually winning the war with the submarine, and that we should have been in a bad place had we not been able at least to neutralise the pest. He said that of five Boche submarines sent to the Mediterranean as reinforcement only one had arrived. He found the Straits of Otranto the best place to overcome them, as it was 600 fathoms deep and the U-boats could not rest upon the bottom. He hoped to make these straits impassable. Few U-boats used the Marmora base, which was far from the main traffic, and we kept and watched our mines off the Dardanelles. The Turks had few mine-sweepers, and only cleared a bit of water close in-shore where now and then a small U-boat got out.

He also told me that he was off to Paris for a renewed discussion on naval affairs. The plan of a British Admiralissimo had broken down in practice, and, as things stood, if anything came out of the Black Sea we might be found scattered. He thought that the *Goeben* could still do twenty-seven knots, but the Russians had destroyed two

of their Dreadnoughts in the Black Sea and many other ships to prevent them from falling into Boche hands. He could not account for the failure of the Boches to attack the American transports on their way over, and said that there was no authenticated case of an attempt to torpedo them. He asked himself whether the Boches were sparing them, thinking that the war would be ended before the Americans came in force, and not wishing to infuriate the Americans in perpetuity. It might be that the recent intensive transport had not been foreseen by the Boches.

I had a good talk with Bacon upstairs after dinner. He showed me his table of past and future American arrivals. They are divided into parts, the first including American infantry and machine guns, and the second the artillery and services. According to these tables there will be thirty complete American divisions in France by Sept. 1, and this month there will be twenty-four infantry divisions. He has no doubt that the Americans desire to unite their troops in one portion of the line as soon as it can be done, and he wishes them to be on our right, but it is not the French idea, so will be hard to compass. He is very pleased with the satisfactory work of the American troops in their first engagements. They are all much amused by the Australian criticism that the Americans are good in battle but terribly rough. The Australians have hitherto had the credit of being the roughest fighters, and for them to call the Yankee troops rough is regarded as the best of compliments. Bacon would like Pétain, Haig, and Pershing to meet round a table with Foch presiding. He complains that Foch has still no executive staff, and that for Foch to visit Haig, Pershing, and Pétain separately is not the same thing as for them all to meet together and regularly. Bacon says that five American divisions are with our troops; they are going through a regular syllabus of instruction, divided into A, B, and C phases, and while the idea is to keep the American divisions together the men will be used according to the stage of instruction reached when any big attack begins.

The Americans also tell me that only one U-boat was off

the American coast the other day, but that many were reported. The same thing happened here. Every bit of wood sticking up in the water was taken for a periscope. Sims says that the new Boche cruiser U-boats are clumsy to handle and slow to submerge. They have to keep out of the way of destroyers and small U-boats, and so their best cruising ground is in mid-ocean. The Americans are delighted with their reception here, and with all that has been done to entertain them. The worst of it is that there are not enough Americans here to enable all the invitations to be accepted. They pass through England rapidly, and the permanent contingent here are often too tired to go out at night. It is pointed out to me that it will be the opinion of the American rank and file that will form the future American opinion of us, and not the reports of Ambassadors and Generals.

Wednesday, July 10. Wrote letters, and then lunched with Belle Herbert, Norton of the F.O., and the Ladies Bingham, and Edward Gleichen. A letter from Mrs. Leeds from Aix telling me her plans. In the evening Sir Frederick and Lady Maurice dined at Maryon, and we had a good talk. M. thought that the Americans had five divisions with us in the north, of which three very good, and other units in our reconstituted divisions, but he imagines that we have to relieve these latter by the end of the month and he doubts that we can do it. He puts our losses since March 21 at 440,000, and says that our units are only 28,000 short now, but we have only 22,000 A men available here for drafts. We have not enough men coming on to do more than keep up 40 divisions, excluding the 10 Dominion, or 50 in all, and Foch demands 59 at a minimum. We have made up by the 120,000 18½-year-olds, by 90,000 B men who are being incorporated in our cadres from France, by the 64 battalions drawn from Eastern theatres, and by recovered wounded. But the position is not good, and he wishes us to map out our future man-power now so that we may not be six months behind in preparation again. I do not wonder! The last French division is just leaving

our front, but our divisions in the French line are not back yet. He puts the French at 105 divisions, including the Americans, but we agree that one American division is numerically equal to three Boche. M. agrees that a million and a half represents all that the U.S. can maintain this year, but they promise 80 divisions by next June. M. expects that the Boches will attack the French from Montdidier to eastward of Rheims. He does not think much of our B-men divisions, and dislikes second-grade troops. The French have not begun to train their 1920 class, to which our 18½ men are the equivalent.

M. says that Foch has not been given an Inter-Allied Staff because it is not desired to make him too powerful. There is only Johnny Du Cane with a small staff, and our G.H.Q. complain that they get *directives* impossible to execute owing to the ignorance of Foch's H.Q. of the real position. There should be a full staff, thinks M., with A. and Q. representatives from each national Army under Foch. But we are hourly expecting a mighty battle, and change will be most inconvenient. M. expects the Boches to deliver a 75-division attack and not a 90-division one as on March 21. He thinks that all the best storm troops and divisions of the Boches are away in rear training hard, and that this is why our recent attacks have found the enemy so soft. M. does not usually send his articles to the Press Bureau as they have to send them over to the W.O., and as nobody is there after 7 they get hung up for twenty-four hours.

An article of mine to-day on the Delayed Offensive and in praise of Pershing and the Americans.

Thursday, July 11. Much rain and thunder. Began an article in praise of the French heroism during the past four years. In the afternoon sat on the Tribunal. Dined with Mrs. Astor, whose party included the Maguires, Mrs. Greville, Lord Lurgan, the Ernest Cunards, Mrs. Keppel, Fox McDonnell, and Griscom. Cunard told me that he had to-day seen in the Mersey some twelve big ships with 35,000 more Americans on board just arrived, and that they were swarming ashore. He agreed that 300,000

Americans would come this month. The Americans are putting 8000 men on their biggest boats, whereas we seldom sent more than 2000 to 3000 in one ship, but the Americans were just taking risks and there it was. Cunard did not agree with Sims that the submarines were sparing the transports. I cut out at Bridge and went on to Lady Huntingdon's, where I heard some fine music and met the Merry del Vals, Lady Strafford, and Lady Massereene. Lady S. has been ill, and abroad most of the winter and spring.

Week-end, July 13-14. A quiet visit to Hallingbury. The gardens and park looking divine. Only Mrs. Agnew, her sister, Mr. Hudson of *Country Life*, and Basil Oxenden there. Much talk of art, architecture, and gardens. Returned to London early. Found myself in a smoking compartment with Lord Loch, now a Brig.-General. He is turning grey, and puts it down more to the Staff College than to the Sudan. He is Brig.-General G.S. in Ireland, having been much knocked about in the war. He expects no success from volunteering in Ireland. We discussed the war. He said that Plumer is considered a lucky general by the troops. Haig has the Army's confidence, but they seldom see him. He would prefer Plumer if there were a change.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE DEFEAT OF THE GERMANS, JULY 1918

The Fifth Phase of the German offensive—They attack on the Marne and in Champagne on a fifty-five-mile front—They cross the Marne, but are beaten in Champagne—General Foch starts a great counter-attack between the Marne and the Aisne—Many German prisoners and guns taken—State of the German divisions—The murder of the Tsar—Tragic accounts of Russia—F.M. Sir D. Haig announces that the crisis is past—There are now 1,250,000 Americans in France—Our Armies have had half a million casualties and have lost 1000 guns—Sir H. Rawlinson's and General Debeney's Armies win a brilliant victory on August 8—Some 24,000 prisoners and 300 guns taken by us in two days—A conversation with M. Kerensky—Threatened reduction of the number of our divisions—The Allies continue to advance and win battles—Lieut. Pernot's views.

Monday, July 15. *Fifth Phase.* In the course of the day there came the news that the Boches had opened another great attack from Château-Thierry on the Marne to Massiges in Champagne, a front of fifty-five miles. There is fighting for the passage of the Marne, also between Rheims and Chatillon and on the Champagne front. Our troops are not yet engaged.

Wednesday, July 17. The battle goes on without great advantage for the Boches. They are across the Marne on a narrow front and are being warmly met. Between the Marne and Rheims they have made little progress. In Champagne, Gouraud has beaten them back and is holding them up. It seems to have been a most brilliant affair. About fifty-six Boche divisions engaged. Their plan is to line up between the Marne and Seine and prolong the German left for an advance on Paris. The French, Americans, and

Italians have done well. We are still not attacked in the north.

Thursday, July 18. An article from me on the battle to-day, and I wrote another for to-morrow. In the afternoon we learnt that the French had started a great counter-attack between the Marne and the Aisne, and had reached Soissons on their left, capturing 4000 prisoners and thirty guns. A good affair, and may have serious consequences for the Boches on the Marne if the French continue. Even as it is, the Boche railway communications at Soissons are severed. Lunched with Olive, Lady Leslie, Mrs. Watson, Sir Vincent Caillard, Mr. Berenson, and General and Mrs. Matheson. He commands the 4th Division, and is returning to France to-morrow. His division has still only nine battalions, which are not up to 900 apiece. He says that he sees Haig about three or four times a year, and wishes that H. would look at his division, but that H. is a shy man.

Saw X., who tells me that when the present Government came in the Tories agreed that L. G. was safer in power than in opposition, and so agreed to let him lead, intending to master him, but X. thought that they had not done so.

Saturday, July 20. Lunched with Lady Mar at Almond's Hotel in Clifford Street, where I used to meet F.M. Lord Roberts before the war. A cosy hotel with good cooking. The Mars well. I recalled the story that some one had asked her why she had married and she had replied, 'I prefer Mar and Kellie to Ma and Slaps'!

They invite me north again, and I should like to go if I can get away. She says that the American ships with the Grand Fleet are very good and that the men's quarters are much better than ours, also that the dentistry arrangements are excellent. The two Navies appear to get on very well together.

In the afternoon went to Polesden-Lacey; met Lady Kitty Somerset in the train and travelled down with her. She was entertaining. She had been with L. G. last night, and he had talked like a Junker and had told her that he

intended to introduce conscription in Ireland at once. Lady K. in despair. She has just returned from a long visit to the south of Ireland and is convinced that conscription will not work now. At Polesden-Lacey there were also the Robertsons, Lady Esmé Gordon Lennox, the Walter Burnses, young Mr. Curzon a nephew of G. C.'s, Miss Sonia Keppel, Mr. Justice Younger, and some others. Mr. Poole came down on Sunday. I went up for a few hours to write about the battle, and came down again with Lady Essex, with whom I had a good talk. We had some good tennis both evenings. Robertson told me that he is told nothing now and never consulted, just as Lord French was not, but he is very happy in his new post, even though he says that the War Cabinet have taken away all his men for France. He has fully warned the Cabinet of the insecurity of home defence. A most pleasant party, all very friendly, and the hostess very agreeable.

Monday, July 22. Came up to town with the Burnses and Lady Esmé. Took the latter to the Prisoners of War Bureau to see about her brother Captain Reggie Fellowes's chance of getting home from Germany ; in the absence of Vansittart Mr. Monk told us all that there was to be told.

The battle which began on July 15 and was followed on the 18th by the great Franco-American counter-attack on the front Château-Thierry–Soissons has gone very well for us. The Allies have taken over 20,000 prisoners and 400 guns, which is a fine haul. The Boches retired from the south bank of the Marne last Friday night, and the German pocket of troops which reaches south from the Marne is being attacked from three sides. A clever and timely move of Foch's, and very successful. The Americans have done right well. We have two British divisions under Godley west of the Montagne de Rheims, and they are fighting hard with some five Boche divisions. The Boches have certainly some sixty divisions in the whole fray, including the armies of Von Einem, Von Mudra, and Von Boehm, from Massiges to Soissons.

Tuesday, July 23. All goes well, but the battle is quieting

down a little. I had an article yesterday, and wrote another to-day. A threat of a great munition works strike in the Midlands. To the opera with Lady Cunard, and found the usual large gathering in her boxes, including some Americans, Hulton of the *Evening Standard*, du Hamel, the Duchess of Rutland, Lady Diana who was looking very pretty, Joan Poynder, Mrs. Lowther, Mrs. McLaren looking very prosperous, Lady Johnstone and Sir Alan, Miss Kerr-Clark, and a lot more. We heard *Le Coq d'Or* by Runisky-Korsakov, a weird satiric fairy tale, of which the best things were the music and the ballets and setting arranged by Mme. Seraphine Astanova. I found it fascinating and enjoyed it, but unfortunately Beecham was not conducting. Coming out into the street the Duchess had a diamond pin wrenched out of her hair and thought it had been stolen, but then we saw it in the straw hat of a woman who had rubbed shoulders with the Duchess, and had accidentally transferred it to her straw hat—a curious coincidence and a genuine accident. I drove Miss Joan home to Little College Street. A charming girl and an interesting character.

Wednesday, July 24. The French have had another crack on the Montdidier front, and have taken ground and prisoners. We continue to be busy on our front, but nothing big is happening there. In the evening we learn that the *Justicia*, a 32,000 tonner of the White Star Line, was torpedoed off the Irish Coast last Friday after a twenty-four hour fight with U-boats.

Thursday, July 25. Wrote another article. Later met Colonel Lucas, and the Belgian Military Attaché, the Comte de Jonghe. Learnt that Cox believes that all but 23 of the Boche storm divisions have been engaged, and that the rest of the Boche armies are down to 400 per battalion. A great question what the Boches will do now. They are getting more and more squeezed in the Aisne-Marne pocket, and the initiative is still with Foch. Some 65 divisions in all in the Crown Prince's attack, and of them 9 supposed to have come from Rupprecht's command in the north. The rain is making the Flanders theatre

unattractive. It has continued since St. Swithin's Day, when the Boche attack began. It appears that Pétain made the plan and arrangement for the French counter-stroke, sent the plan to Foch on July 12, who returned it approved on July 13, and it was to be put into operation as soon as the Boches were fully committed. It worked out according to programme, and the Boches are still writhing under its effect and have made no new move, though they are fighting hard in the pocket, where they have 35 divisions at least.

Friday, July 26. I continue to write most days on the battle, and am pretty fully occupied in collecting and assimilating information. Lunched with Lady Cunard, to find the Hultons, Lady Johnstone, Miss Joan Poynder, the Leverton Harrises—both just now in much political trouble—Lord Blandford, Wolkoff, and Mr. McKenna. I saw a music-hall piece at the Alhambra in which George Robey was very funny.

Saturday, July 27. No great change at the front. My article on the Murman expedition banned, as also is Fred Maurice's. In the evening dined at the Savoy and went to the Gaiety. Heard that when our Royal Family changed their name to Windsor, the Kaiser ordered a gala performance of 'The Merry Wives of Saxe-Coburg Gotha'!

Sunday, July 28. Wrote an article on the retreat of the Germans from the Marne and the German losses. Took Lady Cunard to Lady Islington's, where the Duke of Connaught was lunching, also du Hamel, and Major Schiek the U.S. Assistant Provost-Marshal in London. Lord I. and Miss Joan also there, he looking quite well again after his bad illness and operation. The Duke very pleased with the fine performances of the British divisions east and west of Rheims. He is disposed to approve the Murman expedition which he expects me to attack. Schiek told us a good deal about his work, which has been delicate. He will soon have a good staff. There is a good scheme for tracing every American over here by identification papers. Schiek has just caught one of the greatest criminals in America, who has been posing as an officer with the U.S. Armies under false

passports, and has been living almost at Headquarters all the time. We all went on to *Manfred* at Drury Lane with Schumann's music. The music was fascinating but the play boring. I had no recollection that Byron could be such a dull dog. Various people came in between the acts, including Mark Sykes and his wife. Mark promised me a couple of his caricatures as good as Lady Cunard's. I came away early, looked in to see Gwynne, and then home with the latest news to complete the article.

Monday, July 29. The retreat of the Boches from the Marne goes on, and most people are hypnotised by it and see nothing else. My article was not passed by the Censor last night and came back much mangled to-day. I wished to withdraw the article altogether, but Gwynne said he wanted to put some in. In the evening Lady Massereene, Marjorie, and Charles de Noailles dined at Maryon. A good dinner and a pleasant evening, but the Bridge did not come off as de Noailles does not play and I had forgotten the fact. He told me after dinner that it was quite true that Paris had got to know all about the truth of the Chemin des Dames smash. He said that at this moment we were still 260,000 bayonets below the Boche figures, but I doubt it. He said that no one knew what the Boche would do next. Formerly it was easy to know where the Boche had an attack mounted. Now he has several, notably Arras to Amiens, and Montdidier to Compiègne. The Americans had 13 divisions in the line, a 14th just coming in, and three behind training. They were doing very well indeed, but the first breeze had come when the French had asked President Wilson for 100 divisions and he would only guarantee 80. We had apparently promised to keep up our 60 or so. Cox and Cornwall were pleased about the situation on our front. The ladies very charming, and we sat up talking till late.

Tuesday, July 30. I wrote an article as much for the Boches as for us, suggesting that it was high time to make an estimate of the forces required for victory in 1919, and to allot to each Ally his share in the effort. This proposal will give the Boches cold shivers. The Boches are still

retiring slowly north of the Marne, but fighting quite hard, and progress is slow.

I lunched alone with Lady Juliet, who was looking very bonny from her country life and told me much about her new fourteenth-century country house in Kent which she has bought from Sir L. Mallet. It must be quite ideal, and I promise to go there later. She is off to Wales at the end of the week and will not be back in town till September. She has seen nothing of Bee Pembroke lately. Muriel Herbert is with the W.A.A.C.s somewhere in France.

Wednesday, July 31. Lunched with the James Muirheads, and met Major Johnstone, U.S. General Staff and a Harvard Professor, with whom I had a long talk on the future of the war and questions of strategy and organisation. Generally he shares my ideas. He is all for the West, but when we are quite safe there he talks of the Baltic, of which I was critical, and said that I preferred Constantinople and the leverage on South Russia to follow. He wants to stop the flow of U.S. troops to France in six weeks' time, then to use the ships to replenish the Allies with food and materials of which they are short, and to train the rest of the U.S. Army in America. I thought that the right atmosphere for training was only to be found in France. He is not for English officers for training as he thinks them trench-warfare specialists, and wants the U.S. troops collected together for fighting after the present phase is over. We discussed Italy and the chance of bringing over Bulgaria or Turkey. Tribunal later. Dined with the Beresfords, Dr. Dillon, Mr. Lyon, Arthur Stanley, and Miss Kerr-Clark. Stanley expects to get £2,000,000 in £1 tickets for the Red Cross pearl-necklace lottery.

Thursday, Aug. 1. The *Post* publishes my appreciation of the services rendered to the public by the war correspondents with our Armies, and by our special correspondents in the Allied capitals, to whom I have long felt we owed an acknowledgment.

Lunched with Lady Paget; the Grand Duchess George, Lady Muriel Paget, Mme. Stoeckl, Mr. Selfridge, and Mr.

Whitmore, an American who had met Lady Muriel in Russia. The murder of the Tsar the chief topic of conversation, and there are reports of three Grand Dukes also murdered, but the G. D. does not know whether her husband may be one of them. She tried to enlist me to get military employment for some 200 officers of the Russian Army now in London. The situation of Russians of all classes in London is terrible. They have no money. The G. D. has started a shop at which Russian ladies work, and she was wearing a dress made by herself. The accounts of Russia given by Lady Muriel and Mr. Whitmore were most tragic. It is declared that 90 per cent. of the children at Kieff must die of hunger. She was in Kieff when the Bolshevists bombarded and stormed the town. She was not interfered with, but 2600 Russian officers were murdered. She wants the Allied Expedition from Vladivostok to get to Irkutsk this year and to the Urals next year early, or all the munition factories will be lost. I went to tea with her later, and she showed me some letters and gave me more news. The Colonial Office seems to be looking after the Siberian affair, and there are only some 7000 men going there.

Friday and Saturday, Aug. 2-3. In town for the Bank Holiday week-end owing to pressure of work. Wrote a retrospect of the four years of war, and another article on War and Forethought. The German retreat in the Marne pocket continues, and the Allied troops are drawing up to the Vesle. There is no sign yet of any fresh enterprise on the German side, and even before Albert the Boches are going back, possibly owing to the water-logged state of their defences. Haig issues a General Order declaring that the crisis is past and thanking his troops for fighting one against three. General March gives out in America that there are now 1,250,000 Americans in France. They have fought grandly, but must have lost heavily. Dined at 10 Talbot Square with Olive, Mrs. Norton, and Pat Cox. The latter is now on the staff of the training school for commanding officers at Aldershot. He is dubious about numbers and says that in many battalions there are now only three

platoons, but they are numbered as if they were four. He is not satisfied with our machine-gun tactics, which are not based on any accepted principles. He wants a good reserve of them with battalion and brigade headquarters. He thinks the German system of pocket attacks played out and demonstrably dangerous owing to their exposed flanks. He complains, like others, that the men seldom see their Army or Army Corps Commanders, and thinks that there are hundreds of officers in his division who could not give the name of their Corps Commander. Our new tanks go eighteen miles an hour. They should be followed up by machine guns on some sort of conveyances to hold points and lines until the infantry get up, especially on the flanks of an attack.

I have been adding up our total casualties in all theatres reported since March 21 last, and they amount to 24,223 officers and 440,437 other ranks. Grand total 464,660, March 21 to July 31.

Sunday, Aug. 4. The pursuit of the Boche to the Vesle goes on handsomely, and it looks as if he were north of that river and possibly going back across the Aisne. Read and wrote. Dined at the N. and M. and found the tables arranged for a dozen people to sit together. Englishmen are not gregarious enough to like such an arrangement. However, I found myself opposite General X. and we had some interesting talk. He does not know what the Boche will do next, but thinks that the retreat over a great river is serious in these days, as the airmen have changed the character of the problem so much. But he is disposed to excuse the French for not making the enemy pay more dearly for his retreat across the Marne, as only continued attacks can discover a retreat by night. He believes that Von Einem may well have lost 50,000 men in the attack on Gouraud, and reminded me of our 60,000 loss on July 1, 1916. He says that if I go to Italy I shall find the Italians in the belief that they have saved Europe. He considers the Austrians incapable of applying German tactics. We both fear that the slightest advantage on our side will harden the heart of

our Pharaoh, and that he will refuse to let the people go into the Army in the belief that all is over but the shouting. X. no more knows what a 'second-line division' is than do Robertson and I, and wishes the name to be abolished. I told him that several people in London knew of the intended raids on Essen and Berlin, and he was rather surprised. He agreed with me in disliking the name of the 'Independent Air Force,' as there could be no 'independent' war by a part of the Army. He thinks that L. G. should have the credit for having stirred up America to send over such masses of men. I agreed, but said that if they had not come L. G. himself would have been discredited and fired out, so that there was every reason for him to hustle. X. says that the willing Americans have been a bit overdriven in the recent fighting, but that their losses were not so terribly high. I mentioned the three great groups of our losses, *i.e.* in the five months of 1916, the seven of 1917, and the four of 1918, in each of which we had had half a million casualties, and we agreed that the half million in the four months of 1918 when we were on the defensive was part of the answer to the expected eventual attack on our Commanders for wasting them in the attack. The other part of the answer is that the Boches lost at least as many men as we did in our attacks.

Afterwards I talked with General Count de Jonghe. He was impressed with the magnitude of the recent moral victory over the enemy, and wished us to exploit it when the Boche fell to talking, as de J. thought he would after re-crossing the Aisne. I found him unsympathetic about sending troops to Russia, largely I think because he feels that there will be no Belgium left soon owing to Boche exactions and severities. He wants Belgium to be neutral after the war, to avoid being drawn into French politics. I thought this idea interesting but not convincing. I said that neutrality had proved a broken reed, so why trust it again? He thought because Belgium had been violated once and was therefore not likely to be violated again. I said that I did not know whether a violated virgin was less

likely to be violated a second time, and rather thought the reverse. Not if the first violator is hanged, replied de J. We have not hanged yours yet, I retorted. He is for an increased Austria, and he defended Woeste and the Old Catholics from my criticisms. I should say that his views may be those of the Old Catholic majority in Belgium. De J. admits that the Boches are below strength, nearly 50 per cent. in the case of Rupprecht's ordinary divisions, but says that we are low too and the French very low. He asked me what I thought they were, and I said at a guess some 90 divisions of 6000 bayonets, with which he seemed to agree. He is not keen for America to capture France and to pose as arbitrator later on. He allows the American divisions an aggregate of 28,000 to 30,000 men each. He wants peace quickly, and this impatience colours all his arguments. He is not satisfied that only ten of Rupprecht's divisions are with the Crown Prince.

Monday, Aug. 5. Lunched with Lady Sarah and Mrs. George Keppel in Great Cumberland Place. Lady S. better, but still weak. I read an attack by Rothermere on our generalship and our casualties, and wrote a severe reply. The Boches are now all shepherded north of the Vesle, the bridges of the stream are all broken, and the Americans have taken Fismes. It is not yet certain whether it will be worth our while to attack the enemy here, as we can make his life very miserable, and we are also at Soissons. No signs of any other Boche initiative.

Saturday, Aug. 10. *Sixth Phase. The British Attack.* At dawn on Thursday 8, Sir D. Haig with Rawlinson's 4th Army, and the French 1st Army under Debeney, opened an attack on the Boche east and south-east of Amiens, from near Albert on the Somme to the region of Montdidier. Very successful. In two days about eight to ten miles gained, and we take 24,000 prisoners and some 300 guns. The attack began with a four minutes' hurricane fire, and then the infantry and tanks went in under a creeping barrage and were everywhere most successful. It was practically a surprise, and the valley mists helped us.

Only at Morlancourt, north of the Somme, could the Boches hold firm, and this Saturday morning the Americans and our men took Morlancourt. To-day also the French have opened another attack between Montdidier and Lassigny on a sixteen-mile front, and the Boches had to leave Montdidier hurriedly. Great captures of men and materials, and a regular Boche rout. A fine affair, and I hope that nothing may mar it. The 4th Army attack conducted mainly by Canadians and Australians who fought grandly. Motor machine-gun batteries and our cavalry were all pressing, and the airmen lost sixty machines in co-operating close to the ground, besides putting down some fifty Boche machines.

Many people away. I refused two pleasant week-end invitations in order to stay and help Gwynne. Lady Massereene and Miss K. Norton dined with me at the Ritz on the 6th, and we forgathered with Lords Queenborough and Peel and their party afterwards. On the 7th I saw Major Griscom to talk of my intended visit to France. He believes that the American losses are about 37,000 in the recent fighting. He says that Pershing deprecates the idea that America can do marvels yet, and does not want the idea to spread of exaggerated American possibilities. Tribunal, Thursday. Friday, dined with Lady Massereene; Lady Rodney, Lady Burrell, Lord Edward Gleichen, Cyril Hankey, and Mrs. Stanley Wilson. A pleasant party. Mrs. S. W. is poor Robert Filmer's sister, and wants me to visit his old home. Lady B. nursing in Park Lane. We are all very pleased with the news from France.

To-day I had a talk with the French naval attaché, and we discussed the chance of a Boche naval attack. He thinks that it may come as a counsel of despair. I was also told that the Boches were now laying down some destroyers on slips previously occupied by U-boats, and it is supposed that they might have a fleet action in view, but now the American ships were over here it is a bit late.

Wednesday, Aug. 14. I remained in London again over last week-end and continue to write every day. Lady Sarah came to tea on Sunday and loved the house. Kitty Black-

burne lunched with me Monday. Saw Count Wrangel, the Duchess of Marlborough, and Blandford, and also Nabokoff, who is content with the way things are going in Russia and tells me that all the Russians here who are not slackers will be found jobs. Dined on Monday with the Ladies Randolph and Sarah and M. du Hamel. Rivers waited on us. We went on to see the *Freedom of the Seas,* quite a good spy play. Lunched with Olive, Tuesday, and found Gwynne, Morgan, Mrs. Norton, and Mrs. Murray. Heard last night that Jack Cowans had been taken ill and was at the American hospital at Lancaster Gate. Went to call there and found that he had just escaped an operation for appendicitis, and would not be allowed to see any one for some days. The doctors hope that the inflammation will then subside. The last Tribunal till September 12. Wrote on Wednesday a rather specially good article on ' Time and Tide,' to show how the German dread of loss, and waste of time in their attacks, had caused their failure.

Dined with Mme. Vandervelde the same evening to meet Kerensky, ex-head of the Provisional Government of Russia, ex-Prime Minister, War Minister, and Dictator or something near it. Spring-Rice, Berenson, and a few more. We drew Kerensky out. He is about 5 ft. 8, clean-shaved, about forty or so, with a longish nose and pointed cranium. A strong face, rather small eyes, and sallow complexion. He was in Moscow last May, and escaped disguised via Murmansk. He thinks that he has not been well treated here or in Paris, and is pretty sore about it. He seems a genuine man who feels deeply Russia's misfortunes, but he lacks grandeur. I should say a fine speaker and actor with quick and appropriate gestures, all giving a sense of power and domination. He spoke bad French which spoilt his flow of language. He told us much of the present and recent past of Russia. He expects that the peasants will now go to Petrograd and Moscow, will suppress the Bolshevists, and act with the Conservative elements who are largely Germanophil. They will set up a military government as a preliminary to the re-establishment of the Monarchy, and he does not expect

them to worry much about Murmansk. They will aim at the Volga and the Don. The majority of the Don Cossacks will probably join them. Kerensky says that the Czecho-Slovak bands number 300,000 in all, but that only 60,000 to 70,000 are really Czecho-Slovaks, the rest being Russians, ex-officers and soldiers and anti-German elements. He was contemptuous of Allied diplomacy, and says that we must either support the democratic elements in Russia or the reactionaries, and that at present we were supporting neither and so had no friends. He will be content with 100,000 Allies at Irkutsk, and wants them to bring arms and munitions. He declares that not more than 10 per cent. of Allied promises about munitions of war were fulfilled while he was in office. It is just as well. In January 1917 he says that there were already 1,200,000 Russian deserters in the interior. He puts Russia's losses at six to seven millions, including 3,000,000 dead and 2,000,000 prisoners, but admits that these figures are not precise. He vows that he had nothing to do with the famous Prikaz No. 1, and thinks that German influence may have had something to do with it. He told us all the story of Korniloff's attempted *coup d'état* and why it failed. Kerensky himself had been asked to become Dictator but had refused, because there was no Governmental machinery to make Dictatorship effective, *i.e.* no police, troops, etc. He thought Korniloff a patriot, but only a man of action and incapable of careful thought. Even with an army he could only deliver a slap-dash offensive and did not know when to stop. Much harm, he said, had been done by the millions of men placed in Russian depots without arms and proper training. All these masses had spent their days and nights in talking. An interesting figure, not sympathetic, but arresting by reason of his display of deep feeling. He left me under an impression that owing to the chaos and complexity of Russian affairs the settlement may last very long.

Thursday, Aug. 15. Lunched with Sir William Robertson. He was very well and cheery, but was only doing his job and not seeing any one, nor was he ever consulted. We

had a good talk about events, and were agreed as usual. In the evening there dined with me at Maryon, Lady Massereene, Mrs. Astor, Miss K. Norton, de Noailles, and Leo Maxse. A capital talk. Towards the end of dinner Maxse opened out about German affairs, and thrilled us by his description of and comment on the past relations of England and Germany and the share of praise and blame which was due to various people. We sat talking till past midnight. A lovely day, and a fine still night. All quiet in France, but the pot boils up in Russia again.

Friday, Aug. 16. Kitty and Betty lunched with me at the Ritz, and it was a great pleasure to me to see them again. After lunch I saw M. Bignon, head of the French mission in London, who promised me a list of people to see in Paris, and was very flattering about my work. Dined with Lady Carnarvon at 48 Bryanston Square: the Arthur Portmans, the young Duchess of Sutherland, Mr. Lygon, Colonel Lucas, General Hutchison and his wife, Lady C.'s daughter, Lady Massereene, and several others. A pleasant party. The house is a hospital, and Lady C. is famous for her dressings in difficult cases. I was much concerned to hear from Hutchinson that though we can keep up 58 divisions in France now, we shall be unable to manage more than 43 next year and keep them filled at 10-battalion strength. It is much less than Foch asks for. The French mission under Colonel Roure, which came here twice some time ago to inquire into our effectives, seems to have caused some ill-feeling. Fortunately the splendid action of America has made the question of Allied effectives less acute than recently. The Americans promise 80 divisions of 45,000 men next spring, when they propose to have 3,000,000 men in France, and another 1,000,000 in the training camps at home including 18 more divisions as a reserve.

Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 17-18. Lunched with E. and Oliver Haig, and then went down to Polesden-Lacey to Mrs. Greville's, finding the Maguires, George and Lady Agnes Peel, Baron Michiels, General Sir Bryan Mahon, and a few

more. We played golf in the morning and tennis in the afternoon. Lovely weather and gorgeous sunsets. The Mahout had gone to Cookham instead of Bookham, and had spent all the afternoon in finding his way back. He is opposed to the Indian reforms, and thinks that we cannot hold India if they are introduced. George Peel of the contrary view. Sir Edward Kemp the Canadian came on Sunday, and was interesting on Canadian subjects. He told us that there were 1000 marriages a month between Canadians and English girls. It gave me pleasure to learn that my proposal to the Dominion Premiers that they should have representatives on the War Cabinet had been adopted. Kemp thinks that he may be the Canadian representative. The War Cabinet will now be less well able to play tricks, for the Dominion men will be independent of them, or at least I hope so.

Wednesday, Aug. 21. In France the French have been making good progress north and south of the Oise, and to-day came news that the British had attacked again north of the Ancre this morning at 4.55 and were making satisfactory progress. I wrote an article on Russian affairs and Eastern strategy, also busy with the revision of *Vestigia*.

Week-end, Aug. 24-26. Down to Coombe. A party of men mainly, including Sir W. Tyrrell, Major Griscom, and the Droghedas. I found Tyrrell very interesting, and we had long talks on foreign affairs. He considers that Austria abandoned her independence when she signed the alliance with Germany in 1878, and that our old friendship with Austria is past praying for. I do not care for breaking up Austria and leaving a lot of potty states for Germany to intrigue with, but it seems that this is our policy. In the afternoon Griscom and Mrs. Colston played Major Maze and Lady Drogheda, and showed us really beautiful tennis of the most attractive kind. I returned with Tyrrell on Monday morning. We had a great talk, and he is certainly wonderfully perspicacious, well-informed, and clear in his vision.

Tuesday and Wednesday, Aug. 27-28. Occupied most of

the time in arranging for my new journey abroad. Journeying in war time is the devil, the formalities are interminable. First I have to get a permit from G.H.Q., and it is delivered to me at the French Permit Office, 18 Bedford Square. Then there is the passport to be *viséd* at 59 Victoria Street, now the Passport Office, where a large crowd is usually waiting. Then there is money to be changed, and the Q.M.G. branch arranges my seat in train, cabin on board, and for me to be met at Boulogne. The Italian Embassy inform me that General Diaz and the Italian War Minister will be glad to receive me. Griscom has also arranged for my visit to Pershing. All the things have to be made to fit in, and the *Post* is a little disconsolate at my leaving them.

The fighting in France goes well. Byng and Rawlinson are advancing on the whole front east of the line Arras–Amiens and draw near the Upper Somme and Bapaume. Debeney has taken over the Canadian front on Rawlinson's right and has entered Roye. Humbert advances with skill, and Mangin north of the Aisne has reached the Ailette. The Canadians have been taken up to Arras, I suppose to join Horne's 1st Army, and have taken Monchy and are getting on well. We have taken about 50,000 prisoners and several hundred guns since August 8. The Boches are retreating, fighting hard in places, towards the Hindenburg Line, and I think that there is every chance of a big American attack further east very soon. The Boches are showing distress and the tone in Germany is despondent. Affairs have never looked brighter, and if it were not for the doubt about our strengths in France I should be well content. There is no doubt that the War Cabinet actually issued orders to Haig to begin reducing his divisions to 45. On Monday last I wrote a leader in the *Post*; it was entitled 'The Winning Hand' and showed what a fine situation had arisen, but that the War Cabinet would be unprofitable servants if they did not keep up our strengths in France. L. G. and Milner were at Criccieth together, and that night came a wire from Milner to cancel the orders to Haig. What I fear is that L. G. may intend to camouflage his weakness and keep up the old

number of divisions at reduced strengths, a course which would be fatal. I shall see when I get out to France how things stand. I am told that we are nearly up to strength but that there are no more drafts except the 18½-year-old boys and the recovered wounded, and that next month there will be no drafts to send owing to the enormous requirements of the Air Service, especially for the Independent Air Force.

In the evening Pernot dined with me at the N. and M. We had a good talk. Pernot is now half at the Commerce Ministry and half with General Belin at Versailles. He considers Clemenceau to be now in a very strong position and that he will remain till the end of the war. He thinks that Foch means to worry the enemy on the present lines for the next three months, but not to commit himself to a serious offensive, though he keeps the Boche under a continual menace of it. Pernot thinks that our assurances to the Czecho-Slovaks went beyond their desires, which look to a Confederation under Austria and not to independence. Pernot is of my opinion that Germany will eventually swallow a packet of potty states, and he does not like an undertaking which we may find difficult to carry out. He would have preferred for us to have acknowledged the Czechs as belligerents. He thinks that the Poles on one side and the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs on the other will always be antagonistic, and says that we are practically following the German plan of dismembering Austria and so playing the German game. He supposes that Italy has been for much in this policy, and thinks that Italy and Austria might have reached an agreement. Pernot will be back in Paris next Sunday, and we agree to meet and talk again.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH FRONTS AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1918

Journey to France—Major-General Salmond on Air Force questions —To G.H.Q. at Roulers—Infantry strengths the main anxiety—Our attacks doing well—Value of our artillery—Visits to Sir Henry Horne and Sir Julian Byng—Conversation with Sir Henry Rawlinson —The German Armies now in front of us—A conversation in Paris over politico-military happenings—Machines versus Men—At Marshal Foch's Headquarters—The Marshal on the course of operations—His views of things needed—The Marshal's manner when in a chaffing mood—To Provins, the French G.Q.G.—Conversation at lunch—General Pétain's difficulties—His views of the situation—Paris gossip —Jewish influence—A fairy story—A conversation on art—M. Berthelot at Baron Maurice Rothschild's.

Thursday, Aug. 29. Left Charing Cross 3.15 P.M. Train less full than usual. A perfect crossing. We were well looked after by destroyers, a small dirigible, and aeroplanes. Met Russell, our former military attaché at Berlin. He has never been employed where his special knowledge could have been of use. Dined at the station buffet with Haig-Bovie of the Worcesters who was sent to fetch me, and then motored on at about 9.30 P.M. to the guest-house at Tramecourt where the King recently stayed. The car went badly. Boulogne, like Calais, has been much bombed lately. It was pitch dark, and we had to come through without our lights. At the château I found Captain Scott, a former officer of the Dogras, in charge with Townroe, Haig-Bovie, and Thompson. At night the Boches were busy bombing. One tremendous explosion like an earthquake and another closer made the château rock.

Friday, Aug. 30. A fine morning. The air filled with the droning of our aircraft as they swarmed off towards the

rising sun. After a long delay at the G.S. Censorship and Publicity office I went on to see Major-General Salmond, who has taken Trenchard's place at the head of the Air Force in France. Found him at St. André aux Bois, the old R.A.F. H.Q. of 1917. The house was gutted by fire at the end of last year, but huts have been built with sandbag protection round the lower parts. The locality is fairly well concealed by the woods round, and is reported to be difficult to see from the air. Salmond, with whom I have not had a long talk before, seems a cool clear-headed man. He says that we have 80 squadrons under him, of 19 to 25 machines each, total 1800 aeroplanes. The French have 2500, making 4300 between us. The Boches have 2800 nominally, but Salmond thinks them to be much below their proper establishment.

This is, of course, on the Western battle front alone. Salmond is oppressed by two anxieties. First, the Eastern front and home defence eat up from one-third to a quarter of our Air resources. But even more serious is the drain caused by the I.A.F. (Independent Air Force). This force profits by Trenchard's strong individuality and enthusiasm, and it is in the extraordinary position of being 'independent' and of receiving orders from our Air Board. Consequently it is the pet child, and this independence of all control by Foch, Haig, or Salmond is naturally resented as it is against common sense. Salmond says that the policy is to keep up his present superiority, but it is not much, and is mainly due to the fighting spirit of his men. He is short of night bombers, of which he has only four squadrons, and has only one night-fighting squadron. The Boches raid us hard and do much harm; also S. thinks that had he T.'s bombers he could have made August 8 to 10 a Boche rout this year. He is anxious about next April, because so much of the Air Board's energy is going into the I.A.F. and the luxury of raiding Germany. The machines to raid Essen and Berlin are soon coming on, but at present T.'s machines are only short-ranging. S. is sure that T. in his heart knows that the policy of concentrat-

ing on the military objects of the battle front must be the correct one, but he floods the Air Board with his views, and Sykes does not know enough of our position in France to guide the Board, though S. says that Weir is doing well and has plenty of imagination. I asked whether the I.A.F. had not caused the Huns to keep squadrons for defence, and found that only two flights of 14 machines in all had at present been identified as detached from the front on this duty. We have over 20 squadrons in England.

I asked about types of machines and whether S. was satisfied. He said that the Huns had a new fighting one-seater which soared over ours for swagger, but had not attacked yet; also a better biplane than the Fokker, and another type which climbed to heaven very fast. He did not know their armament but had warned the Air Board that they must be busy. The main thing, however, was for the Board to assure a good supply of proved successful types, and best was often the enemy of good. Our best fighting one-seater could now do 140 miles an hour at 10,000 feet, and those I saw in the air were a great improvement upon those of a year ago. The prisoners stated that against low-flying aeroplanes it was almost impossible to re-form beaten troops. Our planes were coming on with wireless telephony, which is already being used from plane to plane and from planes to ground and is proving most valuable. The co-operation of planes and guns and tanks was now very good. The enemy could scarcely make a movement without some slow old observation plane of ours calling up the fighting planes, which were on to the enemy in a flash. S. had 42 squadrons of planes in the August 8th battle. But, as he truly says, the front was short, and we must contemplate an attack on our whole front when the Air Force butter will be spread too thinly. S. thinks that other folk do not attack like our boys. He has two squadrons of Americans training with him, and has been much helped by the 15,000 American mechanics who came to England. He agrees that the Liberty engine is coming right, but does not think that the Yanks can do much in the air for some time.

I saw a few of Trenchard's old subordinates, and then motored on to Brunshautpré to lunch with the American Major Robert Bacon, with whom I had a good talk over affairs. He has arranged for me to go to Chaumont, but I have to obtain the approval of the French in Paris. He kindly asked me to go with him to-day to a division of the U.S. Army on the Vesle, but it did not suit my other plans. Bacon much regrets that only two divisions are left with us in the north. Pershing now has nearly 21 divisions in the east of France, and all accounts agree that he is contemplating an operation. But date and place are properly kept secret. Bacon thinks that all the various criticisms of American troops have now been satisfactorily answered. The last criticism was that their staff was not good enough, but at Château-Thierry the staff worked well and Bacon thought that the Americans would soon be able to do all that the others could do. Bacon is getting over his accident, but has temporarily spoilt his looks.

Motored on to advanced G.H.Q., which are in a railway station at Roulers. Most inconvenient, very hot, and the noise of trains passing murders sleep and prevents telephoning. I had come to see Bertie Lawrence, Haig's new Chief of Staff, and we had a long talk and then tea in the dining-car with Curly Birch the C.R.A. and Alan Fletcher. L. told me that we had had 80,000 casualties since August 8, but had taken 50,000 prisoners and 700 guns. The Boches were undoubtedly weak in numbers and much depressed. He put the Boche battalion strength at 500 and the trench strength at 250 only. But our great difficulty was also infantry strengths. The last orders just sent to Haig were to keep up the present number of divisions as long as possible, but as there are few drafts coming this will not be possible for long, and this is L.'s greatest anxiety. L. deplored the want of somebody to judge between rival claims for men. I said that the War Cabinet existed to carry out this duty. L. was as strong about the I.A.F. as Salmond, and said that it required not only men and machines but a tremendous amount of labour of which the Army was very short.

Haig's reports on the operations of last March to July went in on August 1 and had not been published. Why ? I said that depended upon what was in it. L. said that it had more or less covered Gough and had referred to the extension of the front and the reduction of establishments, so I do not wonder that it is not very popular in Downing Street. The Despatch seems to be long.

The attack by the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Armies is going well. The same divisions have been in the line since August 8 without relief. They are rather tired, but say that with two days' sleep they will go on, and L. is trying to get them all into two lines of which each will do three days' fighting and then have three days' rest. H. has still 14 divisions in reserve, including G.H.Q. and Army Reserves, but L. is trying to increase it by spreading out the 2nd and 5th Armies which have now little in front of them, and by adding the divisions saved to the General Reserve. L. strongly approved, and had passed on to Du Cane, my remarks in the *M.P.* about the expanding front of the 4th Army, and Foch had then put in Debeney's Army in place of the Canadians who had been sent to Horne. Their appearance east of Arras stunned the Boches. L. did not think that we should do much in the north now, *i.e.* north of Lens, except to occupy the ground from which the Boche is retreating, but the other three Armies are coming up against the Drocourt–Quéant line and will try to break it. I see that the opinion at G.H.Q. is that we ought to press our efforts this year and not wait for 1919. It is a question which is wisest, but the view is gaining ground that the Boche is really cracking and that we ought not to give him time to recover and put in his 1920 class. I shall see what Pershing thinks of it all, for on this much rests.

We discussed artillery with Curly Birch. I asked why practically all our guns were outranged by the Boche guns of similar calibre, and Birch put it down to the better technical efficiency of the enemy, specially marked in his pointed stream-line shells which gave a much increased range, whereas we kept the old shape of our shells. He

did not think that the Boches were increasing their charges or wearing out their guns. Birch says that we use three or four times more shells than the Boches and fire 12,500 tons of shells daily. Our field guns, howitzers, and 60 prs. go right up after the infantry attack, and come into action only 1000 yards behind the firing line. They all say that Winston has been very good and helpful in the late hard times. We put trains into Villers-Bretonneux and Bapaume with ammunition within twenty-four hours of their capture. L. was very modest about his own share in the late successes, and praised his predecessor Kiggell's brain and skill, but thinks that his health had given way under the strain. Things were going well, but all depends upon our infantry being kept up. Birch says that our artillery are now from 30 to 40 per cent. of our fighting strength.

Had a wash at the officers' rest-house at St. Pol, and went on to dine with Sir Henry Horne commanding the 1st Army. He is still in his old H.Q. of Ranchicourt, where I have twice visited him before. Anderson is still his B.G.G.S., but some others of his staff have gone. He showed me his progress on the map, and during dinner reports of more successes flowed in. He is pressing his attack, and is just up against the famous Drocourt–Quéant line. Horne's defences of the Vimy Ridge are a perfect network of trenches and switches. The photographs of them must have frightened the Boches, and on all this front there are some forty miles of trenches built since March 21 and well wired. The Boches lost terribly when they attacked here on March 28 and days following, and now the defence is much stronger. Horne's first line of defence at Vimy is near the foot of the eastern slope. His guns are behind the hill, which is covered with trenches. I was amused by the story that over a Boche dug-out was a notice saying that 'We fear nothing but God and our own Artillery.' A Boche officer declared that when his men knew that the Canadians were in front of them they would not fight, and he shot five of them *pour encourager les autres*. Horne has four Army Corps engaged. The Canadians have four divisions. Their transfer to

Arras from Rawlinson's right was a remarkable piece of work. Horne told me that it looked at one time as if the Boches meant to turn the Vimy Ridge from north and south, but his wing divisions held firm, and the attack failed with great loss. Motored back to Tramecourt and slept there.

Saturday, Aug. 31. Motored to the H.Q. 3rd Army of Sir Julian Byng at Vilers l'Hôpital. Excellently laid out and well camouflaged, defying the air scouts. Owing to stupid red-tape arrangements I was later than was expected, and Byng soon had to go off. He was very pleased with his Army. They had forced their way along and kept the alignment. He joins Rawly a little north of the Somme, and is advancing towards his old Cambrai battlefield. But he warns me that his troops are a little tired and that there is a limit to everything. He was most concerned about infantry strengths, and urges the strongest efforts to keep them up. Motored on to Sir Henry Rawlinson's 4th Army H.Q. at a château some fifteen miles north of Amiens. Lunched with him. Lord Derby, Davidson, Montgomery, Holman and several others, and had a talk with Rawly alone afterwards. His profit and loss account since August 8 shows 25,000 casualties, 25,000 reinforcements, and 22,000 prisoners. I forget how many captured guns, but he has 300 of them parked east of Amiens. All in good spirits, increased by the news that last night the Australians attacked and carried the immensely strong point of Mt. St. Quentin, north of Péronne, surrounded by water on three sides and a most dominating position. They seem to have insinuated themselves across the Somme at Cléry by night, then crawled through the wire, and turned the hill from the south, finally rushing it and taking 1500 prisoners from the German Guard. A most brilliant and remarkable feat. This is the hill which I examined last year when the Boches retired from it. Lord French had always told me that it completely commanded all this part of the country, and so it did. The French were incredulous to-day when we reported its capture.

The Canal line to the south is now outflanked, and there

will be more wailing in Bocheland. I thought that the Boches would try and retake Mt. St. Quentin, but Rawly said that he could now sweep it with his guns and did not think they would succeed. The French had also done well in the south. We have also good news from the Lys where the Boches are still going back, and the reoccupation of Kemmel Hill is reported but not yet confirmed. A very good day, and we had a gay luncheon. I find Davidson very strong about going on now, as was Lawrence, but Rawly is for waiting for 1919 and the other half of the Americans. All agree that a few American divisions with us now to push the advantages gained by our rather tired troops would be most valuable. Byng also said to-day that a few Americans with the Belgians would sweep the north clear as there are few Boches there now. This is correct. Von Armin's 4th Army has only 13 divisions now in the north, Von Quast's 6th Army on its left has only 11 divisions. The mass of the Germans are on the line Arras–Craonne, on which stand the 17th, Otto von Below's Army, 27 divisions; the 2nd Army, Von der Marwitz, 23 divisions; and the 7th Army, Von Eberhardt, of 20 divisions. Total, 5 Armies of 117 divisions, of which only three divisions are accounted fit.

In all there are only 197 German and 4 Austrian divisions in the West excluding cavalry. The others have been absorbed to replace waste. There is certainly a great opportunity for an American dash in the east of France. By the way, I saw photos at the 1st Army H.Q. which show that, though most of the wire of the Hindenburg line stands, the trenches have not all been well kept up.

Motored back to Paris with Lord Derby in three hours. Four tyres went wrong on the way. We came by Beauvais, a charming line of country. A good deal of talk. He was most agreeable, and it was nice of him to remain friends after the way I had criticised him over the Robertson affair. He is a strong admirer of Clemenceau's, and considers that one of his chief duties is to inspire confidence towards Haig in French minds, a sound but not enormously large view of Ambassadorial duties.

I am much pleased with my brief visit. Numbers fairly maintained at present. Horses looking well. All arms doing fine. Roads in good order, troops well clothed and equipped, all spirits very good, and all news from the German side most favourable for us. The open question is whether we should throw for a big stake now or wait for the Americans, and I must find out the views of Pétain and Pershing before forming a final judgment. Dined at the Ritz. Mrs. Leeds arriving to-night and Le Roy in the morning.

Sunday, Sept. 1. Le Roy came in early and we had a talk. He is leaving next month on account of his wife's health. Things have been not altogether pleasant since I saw Le Roy last. Some proposed precautions in June last for the eventual evacuation of the British colony in case of need seem to have infuriated Clemenceau. I think on the whole that we were right to have made preparations, but that the thing would have been done better by word of mouth and confidentially between the civil side of the Embassy and the Quai d'Orsay. Clemenceau said to have gone as far as to have demanded Le Roy's recall, and Derby *said* to have replied that if Le Roy went he, Derby, would go too.

Another friend tells me that poor Spiers is also in trouble. He had been given the names of the two officers whom Clemenceau had deputed to go over and inquire into our effectives. Spiers naturally reported this to London. Then at Abbeville L. G. is said to have got up and asked what it meant. Clemenceau, in the interval, had thought better of it. He got up furious and asked L. G. how he knew about it, and when L. G. said how he knew, Clemenceau accused Spiers of keeping watch upon him. Then afterwards Clemenceau actually sent the Roure mission, and while it gave Clemenceau no satisfaction it upset our people.

Laurance Lyon of the *Outlook* sent his card in. He is next door to my rooms at the Ritz. He has been to Spain. L. found Romanones the most interesting personality in Spain, but R.'s main interest was about L. G., what he looked

like, whether he was witty, etc. L. came back to try and induce Pichon to give the Spaniards Tangier, believing that the Monarchy will fall unless they get paid something at the settlement. I don't think that Lyon can have had any experience of dealing with the French over territorial questions! Pichon not very *avenant* it appears, but said that the question was not yet decided, so the Spanish Pandora's casket still has hope left in it. L. declares that the Spaniards wish the Boches to break off relations. They have just sunk two more Spanish ships, and if the Spaniards seize two German ships to make good there will be a fair chance of Spain being gratified by a break. L. says that the Spaniards have made 400 million sterling out of the war, and are busy with the Germans about after-war commerce. I remarked that these arrangements depended on the settlement and what we permitted Germany to do. L. says that Clemenceau is removing de la Panouse to vex Cambon, and sending General Corvisart with orders to be very stiff about British effectives. We had some chaff over the *Outlook's* attacks on me.

After lunch had a good talk with X., one of the best informed men in France. He told me much of interest. He could not say who planned the attack of July 18, but on the 15th Foch learnt by accident from Fayolle that the attack had been postponed owing to the German passage of the Marne. Foch immediately ordered the attack to proceed and tore up the counter-order. The affair was planned as an attack whether the Boches attacked or not. When they did, it became a counter-attack and was most apropos. Foch's luck was then well in. The English G.H.Q. disbelieved in the Boche attack even up to the night of the 14th, and fearing an attack in the north they wrote to ask for a return of the two divisions lent, 'forthwith.' This reached Foch, who gave it to Weygand who tore it up. Foch had taken up his command *en pleine déroute*. His task was easy with success but might be impossible with failure. Our War Cabinet had written to suggest that Foch should either have an inter-Allied staff or should take over

our G.H.Q. *en bloc*, preferring the last solution. Foch had replied that an inter-Allied Staff was impossible, and only agreed to take over the British *services de l'arrière* so far as this affected general Allied interests. I said that I could not see where the dividing line could be drawn. In effect, said X., after the principle had been agreed upon Foch drafted a *décret* conformably, whereupon both English and Americans objected to it and howled, and so no *décret* has yet appeared. Foch's way of working was entirely antagonistic to his having an inter-Allied staff. He walks about, studies the map, smokes a cigar, looks out of the window, and then suddenly calls for Weygand, from whom he is inseparable, gives him some rapid indications and says '*étudiez cela.*' Away goes Weygand to *étudier* it, and comes back later with the result, which Foch issues as *directives* to Allied Commanders. Foch never consults the foreign missions about strategy or anything, except how best to get things done by the various Allied Armies. He is on the best of terms with Haig. Clemenceau and L. G. are said to be now so antagonistic that people's main efforts are directed to prevent them from meeting at all. The delay in the next meeting of the so-called Supreme War Council is due to this cause. X. mentioned various idiotic opinions which have reached our War Cabinet, including the advice that we could not win this war and so should place ourselves in the best position to defend India in the next war! This advice was given on July 25!!

The greatest trouble of all was about the effectives of the British Armies. We compared notes of our knowledge about this matter and about Roure's mission. We agreed that all was well everywhere except that we had an unconsciously defeatist War Cabinet. What was to be done? I thought that it was really wicked that with our population we could not keep up 60 divisions, when France had 100 and America was going to give 80, each of double the strength of ours. H. Wilson, says X., tells Foch that we cannot, *i.e.* that L. G. will not, and has asked whether we cannot send tanks to replace divisions, a

solution at which Foch scoffs. L. G. is all for England providing the machines of war and little else, but X. and I agree that Foch and all the Generals demand 60 divisions, and X. fears that if L. G. rats, Clemenceau will one day say to the War Council that Foch refuses to go on. Clemenceau has already made some extremely acrimonious remarks on the subject. Rather a difference between this and the grandiloquent public flatteries which reach our Ministers and Generals! X. and I only differ in his thinking that an explosion must be avoided at all costs, whereas I think it had better come now to clear the air. X. finds Milner still very unconvinced that we can win and declaring that if we do not win next year we never shall. X. thinks that our mission with Foch has a hard task, as it is considered too French at G.H.Q. because it tries to support Foch. X. would not have it that the G.H.Q. was now only a post office and that the Army Commanders did the fighting, as I suggested. He thought that Haig, Pershing, or Pétain could make or mar an operation. I said that I thought that I had better see Foch to have his first-hand opinion on really vital matters, and later I received a telephone message that Foch would see me on Tuesday.

Later in the day the young Count de Salis came to talk with me about Rome and the Vatican, where his father is our representative. I told him that I wished to see Cardinal Gasparri, the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasquet, and the latter's secretary, Father Philip Langdon. I also suggested some names of leading journalists, but de Salis did not know them. If I went to Switzerland I proposed to see Ledochowsky, the General of the Jesuits. De Salis thought all this good. Ledochowsky has 20,000 highly trained Jesuits under him. There never existed a better Intelligence Service, and de Salis deplored the fact that M.I. (1) had not the Confessional at its back as the Jesuits had. I am to address the General of the Jesuits as 'Your Paternity.' I said that it reminded me of Buckingham's famous aside when Charles II. in a speech spoke of himself as the father of his people.

Gasparri, said de Salis, is the best informed man in Europe. He would value my opinions about the war, as everything that our people tell him he considers to be told to him by orders of our Government. He would question me closely, and directly I left he would recount it all to the Pope. De Salis thought that Gasparri would probably be the next Pope. He was a genial sort of Curé, easy to talk to, liberal in ideas, and of great force of character. Gasquet was English and very pro-English. If I could get Philip Langdon to talk to me about affairs he would be good value as he knew everything about politics, including the Quirinal side. I asked if the Italians would have me followed. De Salis said yes, so I decided to tell them at the Ministries that I was going to see what the Vatican knew.

Saw Simon Lovat, Lady Rosemary Leveson-Gower, and some others. Dined with the Comtesse X., who was most amusing about 'l'homme aux colliers de perles' who had been after her £40,000 necklace. She had also saved a *bonne bourgeoise*, the wife of a jeweller in the Rue de la Paix, and also the possessor of a fine necklace, from the designs of this clever good-looking scamp whose *modus operandi* is to make love to the ladies who own pearls, to compromise them so that they dare bring no action, and then to steal their pearls on pretence of placing them in a safe. His dossier is awful and he has served many sentences, going under a variety of names. He is young, agreeable, educated, and has all the arts. I saw Wilton to-day. He is going to Siberia via London. He was most sarcastic about Murmansk and is all for breaking up Austria. Met Boni de Castellane, who is quite the reverse. I am very anxious about our Austrian policy, which appears to aim at creating a lot of weak states which will be swallowed by Germany directly we clear out. Where will then be the balance of power in Europe ?

Monday, Sept. 2. Wrote in the morning. Lunched with a friend, General Ferry, and J. de S. at Henri's. In the afternoon saw Colonel Herscher, Clemenceau's secretary,

and found him very embittered on account of the effectives question. He was also most sarcastic about Z. We discussed these matters at some length, and I should not be surprised were a joint Franco-American demand to reach our Cabinet requesting them to give assurances that our Army would be maintained. H. says that the Americans are getting wind of L. G.'s failure to make provision for next year, and are feeling rather badly about it. Herscher will make arrangements for me to visit Pétain and to see Clemenceau. Later saw M. Mandel, Secrétaire du Président du Conseil. A young man of about thirty, shortish, slight, clean-shaved, a Jew, thin eager face, very quick and intelligent, and as sharp as a needle. After we had discussed British effectives and Mandel had given me his opinion that we were not playing the game, we had a long confidential talk about affairs.

Dined with Mrs. Leeds in her rooms. We had a long talk and told each other our respective experiences since we last met. She comes to Kenwood for the winter. She told me the whole story of what had happened during her long visit to Switzerland.

Tuesday, Sept. 3. Started 9.15 for Foch's quarters at Bombon, about 1½ hours' motoring from Paris. Went first to Johnny Du Cane's château which is a few minutes' distance and had a talk. Then went on to Foch's Headquarters, which are well and comfortably housed in a large stone and red-brick château with two projecting wings. The grounds seem extensive, and there are some good outbuildings and an entrance through an archway. The quiet is profound, and large prospects help large views. The telegraph and telephone communications are of course very perfect. There is a series of large rooms on the ground floor which open into each other and make good offices. At one end is the dining-room. In the centre a very large room, where Foch's knee-hole writing table is in the centre and the other furniture is good. There is some fine tapestry, and I noticed some interesting portraits. Better furnished than almost any of the châteaux in Northern

France which our generals use, and in better style. On the other side of Foch's room is Weygand's office, in which Weygand and another officer sit. Beyond again are offices. Many maps are on the walls and on the tables, all kept up to date to show the movements of our Armies from the coast to Rheims. In one large alcove in Weygand's room the contents are concealed by curtains. Perhaps here are the actual positions of our troops, or the situation east of Rheims which I did not observe on the other maps. Foch greeted me cordially. We had an hour's talk, and then I lunched with him at 12 and stayed on till 1.30. He has twenty officers for his whole directing staff, and at lunch were only four officers besides Foch and me. We had much chaff at lunch and told good stories. Foch's mess is the most informal and agreeable of all the French generals' messes except Gouraud's.

Foch was looking well and was in great form. He was plainly dressed in blue, with brown gaiters and boots, and no spurs or decorations. He did most of the talking, and we occasionally rose to consult the maps. He has got his battle going on a front of 200 kilometres, and said that it would last another six weeks at least, and that while he did not intend to commit imprudences, he did not intend to let the enemy alone, but to go on hitting him. Horne yesterday broke the Drocourt–Quéant line on a broad front, and has taken 12,000 more prisoners to add to the 128,000 which the Allies have taken since July 15, of which half have been taken by us. Foch described how impressed one of his officers was at this fight to see 31 battalions of some 16 regiments of 7 German divisions all retreating like a mob in disorder. Foch means to keep them on the run. Their next line of defence in front of Byng and Horne is the Canal du Nord, but no concrete or pill-boxes are there, and after that there is nothing prepared for defence till the Germans get back to the Meuse, except Lille, which may be turned. Foch and Weygand think the German Armies much demoralised and the German people disillusioned. Only the artillery and *a part* — as Foch

expressly said—of the machine gunners are reported to be fighting well. The loss of over 2000 guns, 13,000 machine guns, and 1000 trench mortars since July 18 must affect the enemy seriously. He is not fighting as he used to fight. He has no more reserves at disposal than the French Army alone. Foch declares that he, Foch, has no plan and is merely harrying the enemy, but I suppose that this is only a pose because Foch does not want to talk of his plans, and wisely. He said nothing about the Americans except that they were good troops and that one of the two Yankee divisions in the north was on the march to join Byng. Mangin with 9 divisions in first line and 5 in second line was being hotly attacked N.W. of Soissons, but was getting on well. It is a warm corner. Everybody in Foch's view is always getting on well. He is an invincible optimist. I have discovered that the chief actors in a war are all and always optimists, and the chief spectators the reverse.

We went into the question of our effectives, and Foch said that if we did not keep them up he should have to refuse to be responsible for our troops. All he asked was that we should keep up our 60 divisions during 1919. He intended to make his great effort by April 1. The Americans promised well with their 80 strong divisions. The French had 104 divisions each of 9 battalions. He could not feel that we were doing our best in proposing to give only 180,000 men to the Army in 1919 out of 700,000 A men who would be available next year.[1] This would only give 15,000 men a month, and it would only meet the ordinary waste and not the casualties of a period of great battles. He wished us all to make the maximum effort by April 1919, and declared that it would be the cheapest thing to do as he wished to finish the war. Above all he wished the old and well-tried Armies of England and France to be at full strength. Foch said he did not care if our units were not quite full during the winter so long as all was ready by April 1 next.

He knew that our men were allocated to mines, agriculture,

[1] The Marshal did not tell me whence these figures came.

shipbuilding trades, the navy, tanks, and bombing squadrons in great profusion, and that there were many claimants. The Army with us came last, and the infantry last in the Army. We must reverse this process if we wished to win the war. The infantry needed guns, tanks, and aeroplanes, but these did not win battles and were only accessories. It was the infantry that won battles, and when men were short the greatest economies should be practised in other demands for man-power, and such things as tanks and bombing squadrons should be provided on a moderate scale. It was an idea of amateurs that tanks and aeroplanes could win a war. He went further and said that every use of man-power which looked beyond the autumn of 1919 should be reviewed and restricted. It was no good building ships for 1920, and even munitions output might be moderated. It was this large view which we had not understood. He asked me to propagate these views without mentioning that they came from him, and I said that this was easy to do as I thoroughly shared them. We considered our War Cabinet unconsciously defeatist in opposing these views. The Cabinet appeared to be still ruled by amateurs, who had caused our defeats last spring. Foch thought L. G. intelligent, and that there was no one to replace him. He thought that he might be convinced but was not sure. Our mission at G.Q.G.A. (*allié*) under Du Cane was perfect and was doing well. He had American and Italian missions here also. He sent *directives*, sometimes before seeing Commanders and sometimes afterwards. He had held only one conference of all the Commanders, and distance did not facilitate the meetings.

We agreed that no peace talk should be indulged in. I said that I hoped a Boche flag of truce, trumpeter, and the orthodox paraphernalia would one day be passed on blindfolded to Foch's Headquarters. 'I shall give them a kick,' said Foch, 'and say that I will consider the matter when they are out of France and Belgium and across the Rhine. But it will only be a promise to *consider* the matter,' he added, smiling.

Foch did not think that the Austrians would again attack.

Diaz, who had just left Foch, did not dare to attack, though Asiago was very tempting. Foch had no time to go to Italy, as he was too busy here and the journey took too long. I said that if he pushed Diaz on, the fighting might become loose and then anything might happen. I preferred to see the Italians on the safe side of the river, and I only wanted them to hold the Austrians in place.

Foch talks fast, getting up and walking about, with energetic expressions. When he is in a chaffing mood he speaks in short sentences, with energetic gestures to suit his words. 'Je les attaque . . . Bon. Je dis, allez à la bataille. Tout le monde va à la bataille. Bon . . . Je ne les lâche pas, les Boches. Donc, ils ne sont pas lâchés. Bon. Ils ne savent que faire. Moi, je sais. Je n'ai pas de plan. J'attends les événements. Bon. Vient l'événement. Je l'exploite. Ils sont poursuivis l'épée dans les reins. Bon. Ils cèdent. Le champ de bataille s'élargit. Bon. Ils sont attaqués partout. Ça chauffe. Bon. Je continue. Je les pousse. On tape partout. Cela continuera pendant six semaines. Je ne ferai pas de bêtises. Mais je les pousse. A la fin ils sont exténués. Bon. On prend prisonniers et canons. Bon. On poursuit avec la baïonnette. Tic! (He makes a lunge at an imaginary Boche.) On les tue. Toc! (He pretends to fire at a Boche.) Ils sont déséquilibrés. L'Allemagne est désillusionnée. Ils n'ont que la classe de 1920. Bon. Ils sont incorporés le 15 septembre. C'est tout. 350,000 hommes! C'est peu . . . Bon . . . Ils ne peuvent pas faire plus avant le printemps prochain. Alors je suis prêt avec mes troupes en haleine, mes Américains. Les Anglais? Dieu sait! C'est le moment de l'effort maximum. Allons-y. Bon!'

Foch and I agreed that a Franco-American protest was the only way to bring L. G. to terms about man-power. He likes Clemenceau because he has courage and dares. He asked me what Robertson was doing, and whether there was any chance of his being re-employed in a high capacity. I said that he was in command in Great Britain and in reserve for emergencies.

Afterwards I returned to Du Cane's château, and found Lord Reading there at lunch. Pleasant as always. We talked about America. They were all out for the war, but got tired of some things soon. He had read in some novel the advice of a sage lady to her son, that when he had made a good impression in a house he should firmly leave. He felt that about himself and America. But he expressed his intention to return. He went off to see Foch, who had told me that he would talk effectives to him as he had to me.

Our Mission hold that the situation has completely changed, and that people ought to realise it. Peace through victory is now conceivable. Returned to Paris in the evening.

Wednesday, Sept. 4. Motored to Provins to lunch with General Pétain at the ungodly hour of 11.30 A.M. We flew in a French military car. I called to see our mission, but Clive was away and I only saw Skeffington-Smyth. He had not much news. Found Pétain at a smallish house with pretty good grounds and ponds outside the town. We were fourteen at lunch, several general officers having come in. Freezing formality as usual. Pétain inspires terror except among a few of his old hands. He reminds me of the average Royal Personage, who is one person in company and another when alone. The penalty of grandeur I suppose. Among the Generals was General Deville commanding the 16th Army Corps. In 1895 I had visited the camps at Sathonay near Lyons to inspect the troops preparing for Madagascar, and General Deville—we were both Captains then—had been told off to show me round. I had apparently presented him with my favourite Thornton hunting-knife as a memento, and he had kept it with my card, and had only learnt recently that Captain à Court and Colonel Repington were one and the same person. He has used the knife ever since ! I had quite forgotten the incident until he reminded me of it. General Anthoine is no longer with Pétain. General Buat, his successor, impressed me very favourably. As usual no one addressed Pétain unless he first addressed them, and only one person spoke at a time. Pétain told me that

General Corvisart, who is coming to London as M.A., is a good officer and has commanded an Army Corps. Some one told the story of the General who had been trepanned, and the doctor had apologised to him for forgetting to put his brains back. The officer replied, 'It does not matter as I am a General now.' 'What about a Marshal?' asked some one at the table. The allusion was obvious. 'He is an omnipotent being above criticism,' said Pétain drily, and the subject immediately dropped.

After lunch the others left, and Pétain walked with me in the garden and talked. He said that I had correctly reproduced in the *Morning Post* last February our conversation in that month, and that my fine of 2500 francs had all his sympathy. Now we were in other difficulties, and his view was that as I had rendered the greatest services to the cause before, so I could do again. We went into the question of effectives, on which he completely shares Foch's views, so I need not repeat them. I said that I would do my best.

We then talked of the difficult days of the spring and of Foch's appointment. I told P. that I had felt it my duty to support any French General elected by the Allies, and he said that he completely approved of my attitude, which he quite understood, and that he had adopted the same course himself. He had a large party who wished to support him against Foch, but he had insisted that they should desist, and he had helped Foch in every way in his power. It was easier since Foch had been made a Marshal, since he now no longer feared Pétain. Foch, said Pétain, now has a position of great authority, though it depends largely on his being successful. His appointment derived from the Allied Governments, and not from the French alone. This fact gave him a privileged position, and things were going well. How did the machinery of the Command work? I asked. Who initiated a plan, who prepared the movement? Foch issued the *directives*. Pétain issued the orders of movement when the plan was made, as did Haig and Pershing for their troops, but Pershing for the moment was under

Pétain as French troops were involved in the operation which Pershing was about to attempt. The relations of all the Allied Commanders were now excellent. Pétain had a great respect for Pershing and said that he had a will of iron. He was firmly determined from the first to unite the American Armies under his command, to capture Alsace and Lorraine, and to present them to France on a plate. The present operation in the East is an exercise gallop for the Americans, who had thirty divisions in France, but for want of guns and for other reasons only some fifteen were fit to engage.

I asked Pétain what he thought of the American Armies. He said that he thought much of the divisions. They were fine men with great dash, but the higher staffs and commands were still untried and the American Army Corps organisation was clumsy. If military exigencies decided, the American divisions would be distributed amongst the old Armies, and then we could knock the Germans out this year, but the Americans wanted their Armies to fight together and to win the war in 1919. They were very determined about it, and there was nothing more to be said. If, after the now pending operations, Pershing experienced the sense of his weakness in the higher posts, the arrangements could be altered next year. I said that there was little against the Americans in the East at present and that they might have an easy task, but that next year they would have eighty divisions to move instead of fifteen. The present test might therefore not be conclusive. All our top people, I said, agreed with Pétain's views on this subject, but I thought, with him, that we should do well to make the best of things as they were. You can help, said Pétain, if when you go to Pershing you inspire him with confidence in me, and I said that it would be easy.

We discussed the Clemenceau-L. G. rivalry. Clemenceau, Pétain allowed, was sometimes difficult. He wished to control the war and operations. His defects and qualities had to be taken together, but the qualities predominated and decidedly outweighed the defects. Things went

well. A great work of reorganisation had taken place, only possible under Clemenceau, and instead of being much down in divisions, Pétain now saw his way to keeping up 104 in 1919. They had brought in men from everywhere, including Senegalese and all sorts. If only we would make an effort! Mangin was having a hard time N.W. of Rheims. The Boches could not afford to let him get on. He was hung up and had suffered a good deal, but was holding up a big bunch of Boche divisions, and so helping the English by holding the pivot of the Anglo-French wheel. Next year, said Pétain, if the war does not end before, we shall attack as early as we can, the French aiming at Mézières and the English at Hirson. This plan was already in preparation. Moronvillers would be retaken from the east. The Americans would be on the right. Pétain was pleased because at luncheon I had said that I regarded Gouraud's success on July 15 as the foundation of all our victories and wanted to know more about it. It appears that Pétain had personally prepared this coup, and he wants me to visit Gouraud at Châlons and to get him to go into the story with me.

I did not go to the 2nd Bureau as de Cointet was away on leave. Returned to our Mission and sat in Woodroffe's garden, where they had just finished lunch. Then back to Paris. Pétain wished me good-bye most cordially, and said that we had always been agreed during the war and always understood each other at once. He is looking well and strong. He was slightly critical of Weygand because the latter had held no command during the war, and his only criticism of the G.Q.G.A. was that it had not always a correct sense of possibilities. Our people have made the same criticism.

Thursday, Sept. 5. I am informed that though Foch told me he would tell Reading exactly the same thing about effectives that he told me, he did *not* tell him that if we did not keep up our strengths he might have to refuse to be responsible for our Armies. Reading was looking for it, and even fished for it, but Foch never came near it, so

Reading says. If this is correct it shows the difference between Foch and Pétain, for the latter would have told him in set terms. *O! faiblesse humaine!*

Lunched with Count Paul de Vallombrosa. We discussed private affairs at some length. V. exercised about the Jew influence round Clemenceau. Mandel and Mordacq (?) are both Jews. There are many deputies like Abrami of the same race. The houses of Rothschild, Stern, and Perrère very influential. Sir Basil Zaharoff of Vickers is in Paris, and all known of him is that he is making millions. Bertie Stern, of the Tank Corps, now is head of the Zionists and has enormous influence. He is placing various men over here. Major Goldschmidt was named. Mandel, Pams, and the Colonial Secretary came and sat down to lunch next to us. V. mentioned M. Aubriot as a new force in French Socialist policy, and said that Aubriot and his friends meant to attack Clemenceau by showing up some of his friends.

Talked afterwards to Madame X., who scoffed at the idea of the Jews dominating Clemenceau. Mandel, *le Roi de France*, was of no party and was the cleverest man in Paris. The Socialists accused Clemenceau of being surrounded by calotins, reactionaries, and freemasons. She thought Clemenceau took an independent line, but was old and *chambré* by Mandel and Mordacq. They occasionally got the old man out to the front. Then he would probably be laid up for two days. Mandel and Mordacq signed everything. Madame X. sees much of the Jew circle, and assured me that the Jew influence was exaggerated.

Saw the Marquis de Castellane, who upbraided me for the weakness of England which would allow Germany to form a vast republic in the centre of Europe and then, having created European Bolshevism, would fish in troubled waters. As the French had the military control, we should demand the diplomatic control. America wished the *États Unis* to have nothing against them but the *États Désunis* of Europe. We and the French should resist this tendency and establish settled order and a real balance of power by sustaining

Austria. An American just back from the Vesle says that the German prisoners surrender freely to a German-speaking American division there, and express their desire to go back to America. He thought that the Germans had been hit on the spine somewhere. It was difficult to account for the sudden decline in moral. Madame T., who is running a hospital in the east of France, says the Americans are awful. They are the parvenus of military society. They were frightfully uppish and talked of walking over Metz. She thinks them capable of it, but supposes that they will *tomber sur un bec de gaz* soon and get a lesson. I hear quite a different story of the Americans at Aix from Mrs. Leeds. There are relays of 2000 there for leave, and they are looked after by the American Y.M.C.A., taken about and found something to do every hour, and are very well behaved. The fact is that everybody's nerves are on edge, and one must allow for the fact.

In the afternoon had tea with Mrs. Leeds, and she told me as a good joke a regular fairy story. One day at Montreux in the spring, a Russian formerly in the diplomatic service and living at Berne, called Bibliokoff or some such name—he was Minister at Berne I think—asked her and Prince Christopher to talk to him on urgent business. He came and told Prince C. that a delegation had arrived from Lithuania to offer him the Crown of this newly created State. They had chosen Christopher because he was Orthodox, Royal, and with no German blood, and also because they heard he was to marry an American. On the latter ground the Lithuanians in the U.S. had first suggested the choice. B. told Prince C. that droves of delegates were on their way but that B. had persuaded them to reduce themselves to twelve persons, and these represented what Mrs. Leeds called 'the two sides,' perhaps meaning the Right and Left. Prince C. had to receive them, and told them that he was abandoning his rights of succession to two thrones in order to become a private individual, and that the last thing in the world he hankered for was a Crown. They were grievously disappointed, and he then suggested his brothers,

not one of whom the delegation approved of for various reasons, mainly because they had German wives, and also because Mrs. Leeds alone could bring the American connection for which they hankered. Mrs. Leeds had fled in a car to the other end of the lake to avoid the deputation, and all looked upon it as a huge joke. Zoya and Zitta (Princess Helène) had made great fun of it, curtseying to Mrs. Leeds, and bringing sham crowns on cushions and dressing up as Lithuanian nobles with tablecloths, etc. When Prince C. told Mrs. Leeds of the offer, she replied that she would rather be a lamp-post in New York than Queen of Lithuania. Queen Sophie, the Kaiser's sister, heard of the offer at Zurich and was furious about it, strongly approving of the refusal, but she evidently passed the news on to Berlin, and a day or two later it was announced that the Kaiser had put forward one of his sons for the place. He had not been accepted, nor some other candidates, and the place was still open. What did I think of it ?

I told her that with three million Americans in Germany next year she need not worry about German opposition to an American Queen—which struck me as the most delicious idea imaginable—and that she could collect British and American legislators, engineers, cultivators and so on, and make Lithuania a fine country. It would have no enemies to count with Germany down, and there were no limits to the possibilities, which might include the rehabilitation of Russia. All that was needed was American and British support.

Dined alone in the restaurant. Maurice Rothschild came and sat down by me. I spoke to him of the men round Clemenceau and of the supposed Jew influence. He said that his father had not seen Clemenceau since he took office, and that the house wanted nothing and did not concern itself in politics, though it had much to do with the Government about the Nord line which it owned. The Sterns and Perrères were small fry who did not count. Zaharoff of Vickers was another matter. He had vast influence and great wealth, and had just been given a very high order. Mandel he believed to be a

Jew, but was not sure, and thought Mordacq was not. He considered Mandel one of the most brilliant and indefatigable men in the world. He worked all day at his office and up to two in the morning. He was *chef du cabinet* of the Civil side of the Presidency of the Council, knew about everything, and practically ran everything. R. had a profound respect for his talents. He would become a Deputy at the end of the war and probably a Minister, as he was a fine speaker with great gift of expression. R. very critical of Derby. Why had he been appointed? I asked R. to name a better man and he could not think of one. I thought that as Ministers came here on every conceivable occasion we only wanted a rich *grand seigneur* who could entertain. When the war ended and Peace was concluded, then it would be different. Derby seemed to me to go down well enough, and his difference of type from the regular diplomat rather tickled Parisian fancy. Later discussed the war with some French and Belgian officers. All agree that Pétain has no equal. They say that —— is a natural son of Leopold of Belgium and was born at Laaken. What next! There is not the faintest resemblance!

Friday, Sept. 6. Took three articles for the *M.P.* to Kenny at 30 Avenue Marceau. Bigham away. Kenny amusing about the panic in the Press Bureau in London when a Repington article turned up, as it usually did, just when every one wanted to get off to dinner. It generally had to go to the D.M.I. or the S. of S. or to Downing Street. Wrote an article on the campaign of 1919, embodying the views of the French Generals. Lunched with a French friend who recommended me to see de Martino in Rome. He told me many interesting stories of the French Government departments and their chiefs. All proves to me that Clemenceau is a despot and an efficient one. Pichon carries no weight. Berthelot is recovering his old position. At a Conseil the other day Clemenceau said contemptuously 'Pichon has understood' when some question was being discussed. Got my passes from the Yankees at 10 Rue St. Anne. Heard some delicious American-French talk over the telephone.

Met various people, including the very capable General Burtchaell of the Army Medical. He told me that some German officer prisoners were told the other day to muster a crowd of privates in a cage and march them off. The privates took not the slightest notice of the orders of their officers. This was the first time that such a thing had happened. B. thought that our convalescent camps had done wonders. They had returned to the ranks 300,000 men since March. A grand work.

In the evening dined with the Maurice Rothschilds and the Berthelots at 45 Rue Monceau. A fine house, and cooking excellent. The ladies both good-looking and agreeable. Berthelot very interesting. I gather that he is not at all in favour of breaking up Austria, and says that he has not gone so far with the Yugo-Slavs as we have, because he would hold out no false hopes. He was more expansive than I have ever known him to be, and we discussed all sorts of questions and people. He is a *jusqu'auboutist*. He compared certain foreign politicians, who are much in view just now, to a lot of goldfish in a bowl who were restricted to this limited horizon and thought it all the world. We discussed French stylists, and Anatole France was placed first. Berthelot thought that Rochefort had been the most brilliant of modern French journalists, and that perhaps Hervé was now. It was not, he thought, profound knowledge or reading which made the great journalist, but the art of presenting arguments in an attractive form and in an authoritative manner which compelled the reader to say ' this must be so ' ! Just one leading idea, and one *plaisanterie* which would be remembered, made up the article of Rochefort, and of course courage and incisive writing were indispensable. I said that Lt.-Col. Fabry was the best of the French military critics, but *Oui* is little read it seems. From all I hear in Paris, and from all I have seen, I place Berthelot and Mandel easily first of the personal influences after Clemenceau. We ought to get them over to England, and send them round some of our great houses and get them to know our best people. Both are hard-working students of affairs. Neither knows

English or England. Mandel is a man of humble extraction, from the small commerce I understand. I believe both to be straight patriots, and if they make mistakes about us hereafter it will be our fault for not cultivating the men who rule affairs in France.

Saturday, Sept. 7. I hear that when Balfour asked Foch what he meant to do, the Generalissimo spoke no word, but threw himself into a fighting attitude, hit out hard with his right fist, then hard with his left, and then gave the *coup de savate* with his right and left leg in turn! It is quite like him!

Tried to get a photo of Pétain. Found that the only one is a reproduction of a Press snapshot in which Pétain is scowling at the snapshotter. Very characteristic. In these two little tales are the two men.

Took my article on the campaign of 1919 to the mission. Wrote and told Mandel that I had done so, and advised him to support my theme with his Press. We shall see how he does it, and if he does it. He was lunching to-day near me at the Ritz. He has a good head, capacious and well formed. Manner very authoritative. A bit of the First Consul about it all, and he has the same *chétif* appearance, though not the same look of command nor beauty of profile. But how can a *pékin* be anything now? M. Painlevé came to call on me and we had a good talk over events since we last met, especially about Nivelle, and L. G.'s extraordinary panegyric of him on August 7 last. He gave me some papers, and we are to meet again. I took him to tea with Mrs. Leeds in the afternoon, and we stayed talking with her till late in the evening.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE ST. MIHIEL OPERATION, SEPTEMBER 1918

Journey to Chaumont—American strengths—Visit to General Trenchard and the I.A.F.—Trenchard's views—Visit to General de Castelnau—Talk with the American H.Q. Staff—The American Training Schools at Langres—American military principles and practices—The St. Mihiel operation—Motor to Ligny-en-Barrois—Troops in the battle—A successful attack—Visit to the battlefield—A cage of German prisoners—Return to Paris—A German air raid on Paris—General Wagstaff on St. Mihiel—A conversation with Clemenceau—A French Yellow Book—A talk about Palestine—Good news from the British Armies—General Henderson—Tank enthusiasts—Murder of the Tsaritsa and her daughters—French industry after the war—Commodore Heaton-Ellis on naval affairs.

Sunday, Sept. 8. Left Paris 8 A.M. Train full of Americans. Arrived Chaumont at 1 P.M. Colonel Applin, who is a M.G. expert and has been training troops in the U.S., was in the train. He told me the origin of the salute, namely knights meeting and the junior raising his vizor. Went to General Wagstaff's house. Found him and Captain Nat. Hone, the image of his father Tom Hone formerly of the 7th Hussars, and with the same bounding health. In the afternoon went into various figures with Wagstaff. The Americans have 1,450,000 men in the aggregate in France, and 1,050,000 fighting troops with 1300 field and 200 heavy guns, and 13,000 machine guns (12 to a battalion and 4 in reserve). The 1st Army is about to undertake the operation of pinching out the St. Mihiel salient. It will have 13 divisions for the job and two more as reserve. The French will make up the guns to a large figure, and a French Colonial Corps is also under Pershing. As there are said to be only 6 or 7 second-rate German

divisions opposing in this sector, success ought to be assured.

A long talk with General Moseley, who is a sort of Q.M.G. Harbord is now I.G. of Communications, which is called S.O.S. or Service of Supplies. He is at Tours, a centre chosen by Pershing so that he might be able to move his Army in any direction according to circumstances. The Americans now have St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, and Marseilles for their bases, and thus have a wide base of arrival confusing to submarines. The management of these long lines across France is very serious and presents the greatest difficulties. At least 80 per cent. improvement might be made in efficiency if the Americans were in charge of the lines. So they declare.

Looked in to see some others of the H.Q. Staff. They are a capital set of fellows, and always show me everything that I wish to see. In the evening General Nolan, Head of the Intelligence, dined with us and I was glad to see him again. A shrewd sagacious officer of much competence. We discussed the war up and down.

Monday, Sept. 9. The 35th Austrian division has been put in near St. Mihiel, making 8 for the Americans to attack. Motored with Major Manley, U.S. Army, and Hone, to Trenchard's H.Q. at Autigny-la-Four, a few miles N.E. of Neufchâteau. A charming house with terrace overlooking a pleasant garden. The village grouped round, and no signs of the terrible bombers who make the lives of the Rhinelanders unbearable. Trenchard the same as ever. Brilliant, full of ideas, alert, combative, and a mine of information. He has 120 aeroplanes, mainly Handley-Pages, for long-range bombing, and the squadrons are scattered round partly concealed in woods. The Huns have 600 aeroplanes for defence of the Rhine towns, of which 400 were there before Trenchard came, and he admits that only 14 have since come from the Western front. He does his work without escorts of fighting machines, and thinks that he will be safe when his bombers can bomb at 20,000 feet, as the enemy will then have no time to rise

so high and intercept the bombers before they have done their work and are fifty miles away. He thinks that he has done much moral and material damage, and showed us photographs of the bombs falling on various towns. His planes have now to fight all the way out and back again. It is impracticable to stop the night bomber. T. declares that he has not changed his views that bombing is necessary, and that his force is about the same as he intended to devote to bombing. But he did not admit that he favoured the very large development of his I.A.F. which the Air Ministry is set upon, and I oppose. We went to look at one of his squadrons near by. It was Major Read's, and consisted of 8 Handley-Pages. A squadron of these means 220 men all told, exclusive of labour. The pilots told us that they were fairly safe at night at 7000 feet from the Archies. They intend to attack Essen with the harvest moon, and Berlin later in the year, when the bigger machines come along with four engines each 350 h.p. The thing is easily to be done, and the new machines will carry a tremendous bomb armament.

Lunched at Neufchâteau and motored on afterwards to Mirecourt, where I called on General de Castelnau, who seemed very pleased to see me and with whom I had a good talk. He has his Armies from Pershing's right to the Swiss frontier. Pershing will not be under him for the coming operation. De C. says that the command of his Group of Armies prevents him from having the leisure and information for studying the general situation, and he asked me for my opinion on many subjects. He says that besides the two Austrian divisions now in the line hereabouts, there are rumours of six more behind and also of some Turks arriving. We talked a bit of old times. Returned to Chaumont and dined at the mission.

Tuesday, Sept. 10. Spent most of the day in going over the H.Q. Staff bureaux and looking into things. Visited the German battle-order room, which seems to be well run and up to date. No great change in German distribution. Our Armies and the French keep on gaining ground, and approach the line held by us in March last. The Americans

say that there is scarcely anything left in the German depots and that German units are much down. Some 14 German divisions they think broken up, and in 21 divisions the battalions are down to three companies some 800 in all, including machine-gun company. Nearly all the German divisions in reserve are much battle-worn.

I saw the American Chief of Staff, General McAndrew, a kind, genial old gentleman, and his assistant General Eltinge, a man of character and capacity. I told the former that I wanted to see how the Army was run in the coming affair in order to answer some criticisms of it, and he promised to let me know when I could go forward to see the fun. He was very agreeable and friendly.

Eltinge talked for an hour, and we discussed the great administration problems of America, including tonnage. They are calculating on needing to bring over 30 lb. a day for every American in France, but I see that I shall have to go later to General Harbord to gain precise ideas on the tonnage question. An assistant Chief of Staff is invaluable and will save McAndrew and Pershing at least 33 per cent. of their labours, but our General Staff system is not yet completely introduced, nor are command and administration separated. The principle of having the chief administrative man at G.H.Q. is contravened by having Harbord at Tours. We tried that game with our G.O.L. of C. but it never worked. I judge that the Americans intend to get rid of all French and British instructors and to create their own tactics and run their own show.

I saw Major Johnstone, the Harvard Professor who is here to lay the bases of an American History. We discussed the right name of the war. I said that we called it now *The* War, but that this could not last. The Napoleonic War was *The Great War*. To call it *The German War* was too much flattery for the Boche. I suggested *The World War* as a shade better title, and finally we mutually agreed to call it *The First World War* in order to prevent the millennium folk from forgetting that the history of the world was the history of war.

Dined at General Nolan's mess: two and a half hours of interesting talk. The enemy is warned by his own people that the Americans will cut all German throats, and the Americans are countering by dropping proclamations giving the rations of the American troops, and promising the same to Prussians who surrender, on the faith of an old Prusso-American treaty. I thought that they should give an addendum promising the same treatment to Saxons, Bavarians, etc. We discussed the campaign up and down.

Wednesday, Sept. 11. Motored to Langres with Captain Warwick, U.S. Army, and Colonel Applin to see the schools which are now concentrated here throughout the old 7th training area. Called first on Brig.-Gen. Smith, who commands all the schools. There are 16,000 officers and men under instruction here. There is a Staff school, three months; a senior officers' refresher course, 14 days; a candidates' or cadet school for N.C.O.s; a Line school taking some 350 men at a time; a specialists' school, and others for engineers, tanks, and many other subjects. We looked round the chief of these, saw the students, looked in at lectures, and tried the Browning heavy machine gun and automatic rifle which are the newest features. I liked them both. The heavy Browning much resembles a Maxim and is water-cooled. It is of simple construction, and has several advantages over ours. I was amused to hear that it had been invented sixteen years ago and had been refused by the American, British, and several other European Armies. Now it is admittedly in the first rank, and it would be interesting to know why it had been rejected before.

We lunched with General Smith and had a great talk about the war. I find that the American regulars are not keeping up the State divisions because they want to break up the National Guard divisions in which the officers were originally elected by the men. So the States which formed the divisions are not sending reserves to keep their own divisions up. But it is admitted that the State organisation is of much value for administrative work, and *pro tanto* relieves the Central Government. Much sarcasm was ex-

pended on the Coast Defence Service which is scarcely regarded as part of the Army and has a strong political colouring. Had tea with Lt.-Col. Sir Thomas Cuninghame and his officers at the mission. He and I are agreed about Greece. He also agrees with my general views of the American Army, and gave me some valuable rough notes of his recent lectures at the Staff School. On our return to Chaumont I found that General Wagstaff had been sent for to G.H.Q., A.E.F., and heard that I was to go on there in the morning.

I have not been able to find time to reproduce all the conversations which I have had with many Americans these last four days, nor to note the various principles and practices laid down by new American regulations and carried out in the field. But there are certain leading ideas worth noting before arriving on the battlefield. First, the leading American idea is to beat the Boche in Europe, in the belief that everything else will be added unto us when this is accomplished. A strong distaste and disapproval of the side-show is the corollary of this leading idea. As I have been preaching these ideas for four years, I am naturally pleased. Secondly, the offensive spirit is cultivated to the utmost degree in all the training. Thirdly, the American regards infantry as the arm of decision and pays most attention to it, nurses it, and fights with it more than any of America's Allies now do. The battalion of 1000 bayonets is kept up, thanks to the depot divisions in France, and all accessories for the infantry divisions are found from sources outside the battalion strength. Thus though the division is only twelve battalions—the same as ours until last year—the bayonet strength in the field is twice or three times that of Boche, British, or French, and the American division has 28,000 fighting troops. The Americans, while keeping their eyes and ears open and accepting our own and French instructors, are set on having their own code of tactics, and these are neither French nor British, but American. They are halfway between ours and the French, and as they are different the Americans fight better by themselves. Everything

has to be, and so is, American. The pride of race is very strong. The Americans are earnest serious people, even the private soldiers, who have nothing of the devil-may-care light-heartedness of our men. They have come here to do or die and are as keen as mustard, but still very serious and quiet about it all. They are in truth Crusaders.

I hope to see now whether the Command and Higher Staff are equal to the manipulation of this gigantic weapon which they have forged, but I think that we can disabuse our minds of the idea that the Chiefs are amateurs. West Point set a high standard of discipline and education. It is the West Point standard that Pershing endeavours to establish through his Armies, and his chief officers are men highly educated in theory and only lacking in the experience of handling large masses. Pershing has chosen his higher leaders from men who have had practical experience in France. He himself to-day leads the 1st Army, so that he may have had the practical experience necessary when he commands several Armies, and the American instructions issued here this summer show that every detail of the modern battlefield has been studied and taken in. Will practice on a large scale come up to theory ? This we shall see. The academic still rules in high circles. Even in the schools there is more of the diploma spirit than one could wish, more of the desire to cast out the inefficients than to raise the level of the whole. But I find that Americans are learning by experience every day, and are not above learning. Their strong common sense aids them. They have seen a good deal by now, and have had eight divisions seriously engaged. Their divisions have done well, and though the big affair is much more complicated and difficult I hope and believe that they will come through the ordeal successfully.

Thursday, Sept. 12. Motored early to Ligny-en-Barrois, a few miles S.E. of Bar-le-Duc, where General Pershing had established his G.H.Q. At 1 A.M. his guns opened against the German line from Pont à Mousson to Xivray (main attack) and in the Dommartin sector (secondary attack). The former attack began at 5 A.M. and the latter at 8 A.M.

The object was to pinch the St. Mihiel salient, and after capturing the Boche lines to occupy the line Pont à Mousson–Thiaucourt–Hattonville–Trésauvaux, and to exploit the success up to the Hindenburg line. Note that the divisions numbered 1 to 25 are the old Regular Army divisions; 26th to 75th are the National Guard; and over 75 are the National Army divisions which begin with the 300th regiment.

The 1st and 4th American Army Corps were in the main attack on the right. Their divisions from right to left were the 82nd, 90th, 5th, and 2nd for the 1st Army Corps, with the 78th in reserve. The 4th Army Corps continued the line with the 89th, 42nd and 1st, and with the 3rd in reserve. The 2nd French Colonial Corps held the lines round the point of the Saint Mihiel salient, with the 39th, 26th, and 2nd (dismounted cavalry) divisions. In the secondary attack the 5th American Army Corps had the 26th and 15th divisions from right to left, and the 4th in reserve. The Army reserve were the 35th, 91st, and 80th at Liveaudun, Sorcy, and Trouville respectively. Probable attacking strength 400,000 combatants in the aggregate, of whom 220,000 in first line, against 120,000 Boches or less, exclusive of Boche reserves which might be brought up.

The main attack was wonderfully successful and attained its three objectives with rapidity, Thiaucourt being gained, 9 kil. distant, by 11.30 A.M. The secondary attack also gained Dommartin, and at the close of the afternoon it looked as though the Americans might make a good bag in the salient and might also have taken a good number of guns. The defence was not good, and many Boches surrendered freely. The whole attack was conducted on a scientific and methodical plan, and was resolutely executed by the divisions. All zones of attack were marked out, the successive objectives plainly pointed out, and the co-operation of arms, services, and flying men appears to have been all that could be desired. The battle provisionally answers the question whether the Americans can conduct a great operation on their own account, and answers it in the affirmative so far

as it goes. This is all that I came here to ascertain. An attack on the Hindenburg line and an operation against Metz may follow, but we shall see. The heavy rain of the past few days made the ground soft and holding, but had not been continuous enough to prevent the attack, though it will delay the guns in getting forward. I saw Colonel Drum, the Chief of Staff of the 1st Army, and sent by him my congratulations to Pershing. In the Operations Branch G 3, I was shown everything as reports came in, and also visited various liaison officers, including our Major Gieger, who was most courteous. There was little flurry or excitement, and every one was well content with the results of the first American battle in France. The troops had done all that they had been asked to do, and the depth of the advance was notable considering the defences and the state of the ground.

I found the Vicomte de Polignac at Neufchâteau, and he came on and returned with me. He told me much about Tardieu's mission to America and its origin. He was with Tardieu. We recalled our last party before the war with all the pretty ladies at his house at Rheims for the *vendange* of 1913. The pleasant house has been destroyed. The Colonials who defended Rheims this year so gallantly had been ordered to retire, but the officer commanding had held on, and the Colonials had vowed that they would not leave while there was a bottle of champagne left in de Polignac's (Pommery) cellars! Polignac described Mandel as the coming man in France, and said it was a pity that Berthelot loved paradox so much: he had said that he would never outrage the intelligence of his contemporaries by placing the right man in the right place anywhere.

Friday, Sept. 13. The news this morning confirmed the success of yesterday and brought no word of any set-back. Motored to Ligny-en-Barrois and had good talks with Pershing's Staff, the British Mission, and the Operations Branch. All goes exceedingly well. The two American attacks united at 8 A.M. to-day, and there should be a pretty good mop-up in the salient. The Americans took the entire line, which was their extreme objective, and are now

exploiting up to the Hindenburg line. The French are in St. Mihiel and are pursuing the remnants, who should be driven into the arms of the northern American attack. Clemenceau arriving at St. Mihiel to-day. The town not destroyed and the inhabitants still there. Pétain is with Clemenceau and Mr. Baker the U.S. War Secretary. The identifications of prisoners taken yesterday prove the accuracy of the information about German distribution. Only one division was incorrectly given, and this because the 30th German had just been relieved by the 192nd. The prisoners say that the attack was expected, but was a surprise when it came. They were, I think, beginning to withdraw their material but were caught *en flagrant délit*. The prisoners say that there is a concentration on the Hindenburg line.

Motored out via Commercy and Beaumont to Flirey, where we left the car and followed the Army towards Thiaucourt to examine the German position. It was powerful at this point. A long glacis, several forward trenches, much wire, and a concreted main position withdrawn some 150 yards behind the crest of the ridge looking down into Flirey. Good dug-outs and bomb-proofs, and a dædalus of trenches. The American dead here are not yet touched and lie as they fell, with all their arms and equipments still on them. The first dead man I saw was a drafted man called Roy Bassett of the 366th infantry. The trenches were filled with unexploded shells, grenades, mustard-gas remains, and devilments of all sorts, compelling us to go warily. The wire of several kinds, the oldest very thick and all over strong barbs: the latest unbarbed and thin but in great coils, hard to get through. The strong points were surrounded by interior zaribas of the wire. I do not think that the Germans of six months ago could have been turned out of such a position at the gallop as they were yesterday. I should judge that the defence was poor, but some of the wire was cut, the German guns did little, and possibly the order to retire had been given.

A great view from the ridge of the whole battlefield, and I examined it carefully through my Zeiss glasses. All the villages to the north from Hatton Chatel, through Hattonville and Vigneulles, and thence to the east and north-east, appeared to be burning, including three beyond the Hindenburg line. The battlefield was singularly quiet. We appeared to occupy the air, and though it hummed I saw not one Boche plane come near us. The heavy guns behind us were busy in the Metz direction. The ground much less unfavourable than I dared to hope. The roads have suffered at their soft edges, and when columns of lorries tried to pass each other there was much delay, but the ground on the battlefield absorbs rain and dries rapidly. It was not at all wet, and I suppose that the long dry season has made it thirsty. Also though there has been a good deal of rain it has been more showers than continuous downpours. We were able to recognise the complete achievement of Pershing's design, and turned our thoughts and our eyes towards Metz.

Returning later to view the American jumping-off ground and the battery positions, we found the country roads much blocked with troops and transport of all kinds. The Staff work has failed here, and for miles transport congested all the approaches. One enterprising Boche air squadron, flying low, could have played the deuce on these roads, but not one came. The French and Americans held the air, while Trenchard was most active last night and bombed Metz-Sablons with great vigour. There were still many French 75's with their trails dug down to give increased range, and many heavy guns still in the original position, but many had gone on. The dumps were numerous and scattered. There must have been a large supply of ammunition for this affair. Many of the French batteries were drawn by tractors, even the 75's.

Returned via Toul and met many hundreds of prisoners *en route*. We went to see the cage at Pagny-sur-Meuse. There were 3000 Boches there standing crowded in a cage, and 10,000 more were expected before night. They will

have to remain there all night without much food or any shelter. It is reported to-night that the tally of prisoners runs up to 15,000. An extraordinarily successful operation. Even if the opposition was not of very high quality the question whether the Americans can conduct a great operation has been decidedly answered in the affirmative, and there is little that one can criticise. I found the Staffs cool, modest, and very happy. The prisoners were on the whole quite good men, well fed, and mostly fine-looking fellows, though there were some exceptions. Three per cent. of the prisoners were officers.

A good talk over details at the Neufchâteau mess in the evening. I have seen all I wanted to see, and must now get on to Italy. Thinking things over I give the palm to the ' doughboys ' or infantry, and must not forget the good march discipline of all troops. Only the management of the road traffic showed inexperience and threatens danger.

Saturday, Sept. 14. This morning's unofficial reports bring the captures up to 20,000. We are said to be bombarding Metz. A fine day at last. Motored back to Chaumont after learning that an operation in Alsace was next on the list. Saw some of the H.Q. Staff and watched the ceremony of changing guard, which is not unlike that at St. James's Palace. There was a full band and a march past of the new guards. The officer of the day, who acts as a sort of inspecting officer, stands with his arms folded and his elbows on a level with his shoulders until the march past begins. Lunched with Hone. Wagstaff has sent no word yet. Train to Paris with a lot of young American officers who have just finished school courses, and are making for Paris to find out where their regiments are! A good excuse for a jolly! We were crammed, but three French ladies got in and we made room for them, and then chaffed all the way to Paris; scarcely a Yank able to speak a word of French, but conversing all the time all the same! The ladies gave us all flowers as *portes bonheur*. Met Muriel Wilson and her husband as I reached the Ritz. Found a few letters awaiting me.

Dined in my rooms. A lovely bath about 10.30 P.M., and then came a telephone message to me to join a merry party, but I could not bother to dress again, so Reggie Pembroke and Tom Bridges came down to me and we talked till 1 A.M. of the war and people and things. Reggie deplores the anti-Japanese feeling among the English in Japan. The Yokohama merchants and the Consular Service in Japan are mostly of the same way of thinking. It is all very bad for our Far Eastern policy. Reggie is here as liaison officer between G.H.Q. and the Allied Committee on Supplies. Poor Tom has to return to Washington much against his will, and I expect he desires a command again. His new leg is quite a success, and he limps extraordinarily little considering all things. Bee has nearly had a breakdown, and has a month's leave. She intends to carry on her sixty-five beds at Wilton during the winter.

Sunday, Sept. 15. Spent most of the day writing two articles on the American battle. Lunched at the Ambassadeurs with J. de S. I did not think much of the houris who congregate there on fine days for *déjeuner*. Not much news. In the morning I went to the Embassy and told Derby all about my experiences with the Americans. He showed me Pauline Bonaparte's bedroom, which has some fine examples of Empire furniture. He admires Clemenceau and has an affection for him. He told me that David Henderson was coming here in Le Roy's place. Clive goes to G.H.Q. to replace poor Cox, the new D.M.I. in France, whose accidental death by drowning is a tragedy. Thwaites takes Macdonogh's place as D.M.I., and Macdonogh becomes A.G.

Cavan told Derby that the Austrians were fighting well, as well as the Boches. He thinks that the opportunity of attacking them has been allowed to slip by, and he is off to England on three weeks' leave for cub-hunting.

As I finished above, and was just off to bed at 1.30 A.M., the sirens began to wail, and almost simultaneously the guns opened on the Boche planes which are raiding Paris. They appear to come in from the west and to be moving north.

The hotel seems to be in darkness, and there are no lights in the passages. Not such heavy fire as in many London raids, but it is a pretty continuous roll, about fifty shots a minute. At 2.40 A.M. the fire died down. *Quelle sale voisine, la mort!* Most of the ladies flew to the cellars to-night. Nancy did not, refusing to be intimidated by a Boche. Reggie went out into the passage, and finding a plain lady in a dishevelled nightdress with a candle, fled back to his room and locked himself in.

Monday, Sept. 16. A second raid began at 4.15 A.M. this morning and lasted half an hour. This is the Boche prelude to the Austrian peace proposal launched this morning and displays their usual ignorance of French psychology. All the papers reject the proposals with contumely. The offer is to meet in a neutral capital and discuss peace confidentially without an armistice. This is no doubt the result of Von Hintz's visit to Count Burian at Vienna on Sept. 3 and 4, though Germany to save her pride throws all the onus for the offer on Austria. It seems probable that an Allied attack on Alsace and a projected invasion across the Rhine are about to open.

Mandel asks me to see him to-morrow and to see Clemenceau afterwards. Last night Reggie Pembroke and M. Painlevé dined with me and we had a good talk. I told them my experiences at St. Mihiel, and hoped that the Americans would not draw excessive conclusions from their victory. Painlevé shares my opinion that Central Europe without an Austrian counter-weight to Germany would become Boche, and that all the little independent states would be swallowed one by one.

I notice that I have left out the information which reached me at G.H.Q., A.E.F., that the circular tour of the transports still takes fifty-five days, *i.e.* from the day they leave the American coast until the day they set out from America again. The main cause of the delay is the waiting off the French ports for berths. Painlevé admits the value of the American installations, but says that they are of a temporary nature and will only last a few years, like the American standard

ships which are put together in thirty-two days and will not last very long.

X. came in the morning. He tells me that Monsignore Tedeschini, Substitut de la Secrétariat d'Etat, is the dominating influence at the Vatican. He is a priest from Rieti, about forty-two years of age, very intelligent, and much trusted by the Pope, who sees him daily. He is reported to be devoted to the cause of the Central Empires. The Pope the other day brought him a present of a silver tea-set and all the Roman Black families, on hearing of it, went to call upon Tedeschini though they dislike him. Monsignore Cerretti, Secrétaire de la Congrégation des Affaires Ecclésiastiques, is also important. He is skilled in exterior and American affairs. X. places these two men first in the Vatican Councils. He says that the German Minister—Mühlberg I think—lately at the Vatican, remains at Lugano in constant correspondence with the Vatican by the V. bag. The Italian Government use the Vatican and are in constant relations with it. It has not been thought advisable to forbid the passages of the Vatican *valises*! The Quirinal doubtless uses them upon occasion. X. says that Montmartre was rather heavily bombed last night, and that four large bombs fell in a restricted area and did much harm. The Boche official says that the raid was a reprisal.

Wrote most of the day and finished a series of three articles on the Americans. Had tea with Mrs. Leeds and a long talk. Dined with Major and Mrs. Warde (Muriel Wilson), Sevastopoulo, and the bride, Lady Alastair Leveson-Gower. Reggie Pembroke and Graves joined us later. A merry party with much chaff. Mrs. Warde in great form. The bride very agreeable. Sevastopoulo has left his Russian Embassy and is still rather miserable about things. He sneers at Mandel who, he says, *s'écoute parler*, and so he does. Clemenceau does everything without consulting the Quai d'Orsay or the Allies. His Polish declaration and the Prince Sixte letter are examples. Berthelot is only rising because Margerie is ill, and Clemenceau does not like him. Reggie was killing about his Japanese trip. He is made Commander of the Sacred Treasure.

Tuesday, Sept. 17. It is vexatious to find that there is no sleeping-car seat to Italy before the 24th, but I hope that I may get one earlier. Saw M. Guaria at the Italian Embassy, and he is telegraphing to General Diaz to announce my arrival next Wednesday if I cannot get away earlier. Took my three articles on General Pershing's victory to the U.S. people at 10 Rue St. Anne, and hope that they may reach London all right. I saw M. Mandel twice to-day and was to have seen Clemenceau at 5, but he was *exténué* by a heavy day, including a speech in the Senate on the Austrian offer of negotiation, and I am to see him to-morrow. Are relations still a bit tense about effectives? Mandel tells me that Milner and Clemenceau have not met this time. Milner returns to London on Thursday. Clemenceau in the Senate, according to Mandel, declared that there was no compromise between crime and justice; that France had lived for fifty years under the régime of the dry powder; that she had not desired the war; and that she now intended to end it by victory. So Burian will have to report nothing doing.

The Boche plane destroyed in the Sunday night raid was a Friedrichshafen G II., a biplane with two 225 h.p. Benz 6-cylinder motors. Three guns. Four hours' flight. Upper wings 20 m. 30, lower 18 m. 80.

General Wagstaff looked in, and we compared our experiences of the battle. He agrees with me about the constriction of the road traffic and says that the American Staff system is to leave troops to work out their own salvation, and not for the Staff to run about and get things done. He thinks it lucky for the Yanks that the weather favoured them and they could get their stuff along. X. looked in later after being attended to by a brace of houris, one of whom massaged his head while the other manicured his hands. He admits much tension between Clemenceau and our Government, as C. sent a very stiff message practically accusing us of not doing our duty about effectives, as indeed we are not, and I said so. It seems that C.'s communication was in the Tiger's best fighting style, and that C. cannot afford it to be published because of the things it contains

about England, France, and America. Therefore X. thinks that our people may think that they have C. on the hip. But so have others thought about the Tiger, and they have often been wrong. If it comes to revelations, Clemenceau has a satchel full. Mandel told me to-day that he would talk to me more freely after Clemenceau had expressed his views to me at length to-morrow. It looks as if the political weather were a bit thick.

Wednesday, Sept. 18. General Wagstaff looked in last night, and this morning we drove to the Bois and took a walk. We compared our experiences of St. Mihiel. W. said that the men were fed, because they had taken two days' food with them. He saw some eat both days' rations for lunch the first day. It was the American habit, he thought, to let people look after themselves, and all the officers said was that the men would be darned hungry next day. The Americans almost expected the horses to feed and water themselves. They were not good horse-masters and did not water horses often enough. He said that he saw thousands of slickers (waterproofs) thrown away in the woods, and the officers guessed that fatigue parties would be sent to collect them. He agreed with me about the constriction of the road traffic. In principle each division had its axial road, and if there was none it had to be made. But the cross-roads had not been definitely allocated, and on the principle of 'passing the buck' the Corps handed the business over to the Division, and the latter on till it reached the regiment. He took the Chief of one of the Staffs to the Flirey cross-roads, which I had mentioned as typical, and had pointed out the faults and what should be done to repair them. He thought that the Yankees picked up things fast. They would find that they could not march all over the country as over the prairie in America, and had to suit their arrangements to the poor country roads of France. I told him that along many miles of road a single Boche air squadron might have played havoc and immobilised the Army, as the transport could not possibly have unwound itself. W. says that

America had 600 planes in the air on the 12th, of all sorts, good and bad. It was their great effort. The only fight in the air that he saw was when one Boche attacked six Yanks. He thought that the French had sent only 1000 guns or so. They had packed up and gone since I had left, and he was much interested to hear my second-hand tale about Alsace and the proposed invasion of Germany across the Rhine. Many Boches in the salient escaped by a new road through the woods which had not been reported.

Met Solly-Flood after lunch. He is in command of the 42nd Division at Havrincourt road, and says that his division has taken 17,000 Boche prisoners. It was a great change for him to command on horseback and use gallopers. We were coming back to the old Field Service Regulations.

At 3 P.M. I saw M. Clemenceau at the War Ministry. I congratulated him on all that he had accomplished since we last met, and told him that now at last the Winged Victory in the Entrance Hall might be supplied with a head. He was looking very brown and well. His table was littered with papers and reports, amongst which he pointed out laughingly one of my articles. We talked first of the Command, and agreed that the whole thing worked extraordinarily well just now, and that all the Generals were on the best of terms. What did he think, I asked, about the current ideas that other oversea campaigns should be brought under Foch or Versailles ? He was not in favour of it. He thought that the essential thing had been done, and that best might prove the enemy of good. We were now winning the war, and it was best not to disturb things again. Foch could always advise about other campaigns, and meanwhile the main question was set right. Did I not agree ? I said that I did, and had no love lost for Versailles though it was so full of its own importance and the desire to take all our theatres of war in hand. We did not need to increase possibilities of friction as we had quite enough already. Yes, said C., there is this eternal question of the effectives. We laughed, and C. said that he and I must each of us continue our campaign in favour of

our common objective. Had he seen Milner? I asked. Yes, said C., he had just seen him and had presented him with a paper embodying his views. Were we any nearer an agreement? C. was not sure. He thought that Milner was much hampered by his military entourage, and when I named Z., C. agreed. But it was difficult, he continued, to change all the directing personalities in the middle of a war, and while on the political side there seemed no alternative in England, the P.M. must of course surround himself with whom he pleased. C. said that with Roure's Report he, C., had all the knowledge necessary for continuing the discussions about effectives, and he meant to continue it. He had told Milner what he believed to be the truth, and there the matter rested. I said that C. was representing the opinion of all the British Generals to whom I had talked, and it seemed to me extraordinary that this should be the situation.

After what X. had told me I thought it best not to approach this matter more closely for the moment, and branched to Italy. Milner, said C., has taken away nine battalions, and now proposes to relieve the divisions in Italy by tired divisions. C. meant to do the same, and why not if there was no fighting? Diaz had howled and had told him that the Austrians had fought like lions. C. held up his hands and roared at the idea. Yes, I said, the best opportunity seemed to have been lost, and by now the chance of doing anything this season in the mountains had gone by. Personally, I said, I hoped that Diaz would not move, for if he did and won it meant little, and if he lost we should have to rush down a dozen divisions and perhaps compromise things in France. C. agreed with this point of view, but said that Foch had been pushing Diaz to do something. C. thought that the Austrians only asked to be left in peace. I agreed, and said that it would suit us best to be able to forget the Italian front altogether. However, I hoped to take a look round, and would let Mandel know if there were anything fresh that needed French attention. I then rose to go, out of respect for C.'s time

and his thickly strewn desk, and we said nice things to each other as we parted.

Mandel had asked me to look in and see him again afterwards. He will have the first communication for me on my return. M. pointed out that no French Government would permit the interference of another Government in the management of its home affairs, and therefore C. had to be most particular about his action respecting the British. C. had never intrigued, said M.; he had upset twenty-three Governments in fifty years of public life, but always in Parliament and openly from the Tribune. M. had been with him for fourteen years since the age of eighteen. M. thought that the *leitmotiv* of many public men was vanity, and he deplored the fact that our terrible times had produced no new nor great men to dominate them. We agreed again to write to each other with entire frankness and without taking umbrage at plain speaking.

In the afternoon with Mrs. Leeds, and a pleasant chat. She told me much of Queen Sophie, late of Greece. She says that she has remained a Prussian Princess before all else. The messages signed S. and T. were not Sophie and Tino, but Sophie and Teotaki the Minister. Most of this passed while Tino was very ill and without his knowledge. The Queen had been very good when the crisis came, and had behaved well. She even nursed Tino, and did not take her clothes off for a week. The King was utterly devoted to the youngest girl of six, and so would not let Sophie go to Germany. The King had to cover all the Queen had done. We discussed the replies to the Austrian Note.

In the evening dined with Lady Congreve, Lord Jellicoe, and Le Roy. The Admiral said that an American naval officer who is a Southerner had told him that he had lived forty years before discovering that 'darned Yankee' was not one word. J. says that we are two to one against Germany now at sea, and he does not expect that the Boches will take it on. He agrees that in material they were, and even are, much ahead of us. To-day Rawly took a large bit N.W. of St. Quentin with 5000 prisoners. Clemenceau

was very pleased about it when he spoke to me to-day.

Thursday, Sept. 19. Yesterday's fight on the St. Quentin front was by the 3rd and 4th British Armies combined, and went well on a broad front. We are in the advanced positions of the Hindenburg line, and if Foch is meditating the Alsace blow, we are elsewhere—English, French, and Americans—in a position to hold and threaten the enemy so closely that he cannot detach much to Alsace. Q. came in and talked. He seems to be pretty well acquainted with French political affairs. A French Yellow Book is published to-day on the genesis of the Franco-Russian Alliance and Military Convention. Very interesting to those of us who remember the days of 1891. De Miribel's *Mémoire* as clear and good as I should have expected from him.

P. F. came in, and we had a long talk in my rooms, where I was laid up by the usual results of this d—d French food and war bread. He is back from Palestine. He thinks that our efforts in the Turkish fronts will be concentrated upon Mesopot, of which we can make a flourishing possession. There is nothing to be done, he thinks, in Palestine, and even an advance to Aleppo would do no good. We were already in ground worse than Wales, and did not want to search for an Afghanistan in the Taurus. Jerusalem and its problems were a great interest, but there was nothing to be made out of the country except on the narrow strip on the coast, and even there the rain only came at one time of the year and filled the dongas, causing spruits but being of no real advantage to agriculture. He had met no Jews who wanted to go back to Palestine. It was only a sentimental thought, Zionism, suited for an after-dinner speech by A. J. B. but for nothing else. All the officers returning from leave to Palestine deplored their fate, as this theatre was like a sausage with the meat taken out now that the best of the troops had been withdrawn. As for the Hedjaz, P. declared that the King of that territory received some £300,000 a month and would take nothing but English sovereigns. His braves did not really fight unless they could bring overwhelming numbers

on some small Turkish post. They simply played about on their camels and were picturesque. We had effected no useful purpose by going to Palestine, and our situation was inferior to that when we had the Sinai desert in front of us instead of behind. We agreed that Allenby was a most brilliant General. P. thought that the Turks would be pleased if we trekked north to fight them, as they would then not suffer from long and flimsy lines of communication along a rotten little railway. Now that our white infantry had largely departed, the tone of the Army was Anglo-Indian and Australian.

Friday, Sept. 20. The news from our front continues good. Haig's Armies have taken 10,000 prisoners and 60 guns in two days, and a heavy attack by Boche, including Brandenburg, divisions has been bloodily repulsed by the Guards, 3rd and 37th Divisions. Le Roy came in early for a talk. He leaves for Italy to-night, will be away ten days, and then clears up here and leaves permanently. His position has been much altered since Derby came. When Bertie was ill Le Roy had to do all sorts of jobs which were not in his line, and he was the intimate, as I had known at the time, of all the leading French Ministers. He was on good terms with Haig, and was a constant visitor to the front. He had a mass of work which kept him busy all day. Since Derby came Le Roy had effaced himself purposely and Derby had been very active, having every sort of person to the Embassy, and occupying himself much with his lists of luncheon invitations. Even Albert Thomas had been a guest, and the Embassy was resuming its old social functions, which was something.

David Henderson will succeed him. David would remain as Commandant of British troops in Paris, and in administrative charge of British troops at Nancy and Bordeaux. But the Military Attachéship would and should remain the *gros morceau*, because the post of Military Attaché meant more to the French than any other. David would have charge under H. E. of all the military missions in Paris. I asked how many there were, and Le Roy said he knew of

forty-seven, but that a new one appeared almost daily, and that every person and department at home pretended to have their own. Poor Spiers was rather shaky. He also was *brûlé* with Clemenceau, and since Foch had left Paris, Spiers's utility had been reduced. Versailles was mere camouflage now, it was only useful as a sort of receptacle for complaints. It could always be agreed to refer a disputed point to Versailles. Versailles took a long time to consider the point. There was no one there of any weight except General Bliss, and nobody took an opinion from Versailles when they got it. It was really a useless and expensive body, but it hung up difficult questions, and so time was gained, and when time had elapsed people were thinking about other things.

X. came to see me after a talk with our officials. He thought that though the War Cabinet had vowed and protested that they would not and could not keep up our 60 divisions next year, they would in the end be compelled to keep them up. It would be with us as it had been with the French, who had protested in 1916 that the French Army would peter out by the close of 1917, and yet here we were at the close of 1918 and the French Army stronger than ever, and the 1920 class not yet called up. It was a question of goodwill. He found Y almost a pacificist, and mainly intent on finishing the war almost on any terms. Then, I said, some of us and the French are not far wrong in believing that we have an unconsciously defeatist War Cabinet? X. hardly denied it. It was impossible, he said, to understand the mentality of our Government which pined for peace now, and instead of taking steps to secure peace were wobbling and wriggling about doing their duty to the Army. I thought that the venerable tradition of England fighting with her fleet and only sending a contingent to the Continent still retained its debilitating influence, and that the War Cabinet would not understand that we were defending London on the Meuse.

Thursday's *Morning Post* with my article on infantry strengths and an admirable leader on the same question is

greatly approved here, and will help the French and our soldiers. I went round to David Henderson's office and had a talk with him. He is glad to be back with the Army on any terms after his long stay with the R.A.F., but has not spoken much French for twenty-five years and is not yet quite clear what his duties are. He pointed out to me a huge list of the missions now in Paris. But he thinks that he will not have to do many of Le Roy's old duties as we now have an Ambassador to do the talking with French Ministers. I found David quite with me about the proper place of the Tanks and the Air Force in winning the war, *i.e.* that they were both secondary arms. When he had argued on these lines to the War Cabinet formerly they had looked down their noses. They did not like being told that they could not win the war in the air. When I spoke in Foch's sense of speeding down all programmes which could only materialise in 1920 or later, David said that Winston had made a proposal in the same sense last year and that it had not been accepted. But 1917 is not 1918.

Lunched with David and Le Roy. We talked about the duties here. Le Roy told two good stories. One of Arnold Forster. The latter had called up Neville Lyttelton at the time of the S.A. stores trouble to explain some of his papers. One was marked f.o.b. 'Do you know what f.o.b. means?' asked A. F. 'No, I don't,' replied Neville. 'Ah!' said A. F., 'I suppose you would if it had been l.b.w.'

The other story was of Harry Higgins and a famous and beautiful prima donna. Harry was trying to engage her for the opera, and she held out for £200 a night. 'But we only want you to *sing*, you know,' rasped out Harry in her ear.

Afterwards met D'Eyncourt of the Admiralty, Swinton, and Bertie Stern—all tank enthusiasts—and went at them about the programmes for 1919 and our want of infantry. I told them that the extravagant programmes for tanks and bombing squadrons were going to reduce our infantry again to danger point, and that enthusiastic specialists like them had got hold of our ignorant War Cabinet and had made them think that we were going to win the war with machines.

We had a good wrangle. D'Eyncourt admitted that one wanted 'some' infantry to follow tanks, and declared that tanks could go wherever infantry could go, an idea at which I scoffed, and even Swinton did not agree. Some hard speaking. Swinton not returning to America with Reading. He is on the Tank Board. I suppose it will be a Ministry before I get home.

Another story of Harry Higgins and a proposer of a candidate for the Beef Steak Club. 'He is very popular at all his Clubs,' urged the proposer. 'Ah! *Toilet* Clubs, I presume,' growled H. H.

Saturday, Sept. 21. Wrote an article on 'Invincible France.' Lady Johnstone turned up from England. I gave Lady X. a lecture on her remarks concerning Haig, telling her that we must all support soldiers in command no matter what we thought of them. Colonel Bigham dined with me. He is in charge of the dissemination of Intelligence to our Allies here. His Staff has grown to fourteen, of whom he says young Hartington is the best. Formerly Le Roy with one or two men, and Bigham with about the same, did the work now done by the forty-seven British Committees in Paris. The evacuation of Paris by the British will be more difficult than that of Calais. Bigham does not suppose that he knows all the agencies created here. He cannot think why Winston should constantly fly over here and stay for several days while he has a man like Sir Charles Ellis to represent him. I saw Cecil Higgins at David's H.Q. He is much wasted in his present work there and is a good man. The victories of Franchet d'Esperey at Salonika and of Allenby in Palestine add to the prevailing happiness.

Sunday, Sept. 22. Heavy rain. Completed a second article on France. General Kentish, commanding 166th Brigade, 55th Division (Jeudwine's), came in and we had a long talk on infantry and training matters, of which he knows much.

Monday, Sept. 23. We are pretty well all now up against the Hindenburg line, and are taking our time to prepare decisive action against it. The weather more propitious

this morning. Allenby has practically rounded up and destroyed or captured all the Turkish Army in Palestine ; it is said that 18,000 prisoners and 120 guns are taken. In Macedonia the pursuit of the Bulgars continues. Stern tells me the success was due to tanks—the Renaults. They must be good hill-climbers! Sammy Scott turns up from London. Get my Italian *visé*. An American correspondent just in from St. Mihiel says that a big move at Verdun and another in Alsace are preparing, and that every one is yapping about them. He declares that the Yanks are very vexed at not having been allowed to go on after the 12th and do a big thing. They are spoiling to win a bigger battle than any one else. Will they grow tired of the war ? I asked. Not for a year anyway, he replied.

In the evening a long talk with Mrs. Leeds. She has heard from the Grand Duchess George that the Tsaritsa and her four daughters were burnt alive. The Grand Duke George and two other Grand Dukes are in prison at Petrograd, supplied with food three times a week by the Swedish and Danish Legations. They are to be murdered if anything happens to the leading Bolshevists. The Tsar was shot before his son's eyes, and when the latter screamed he was shot too. The Grand Duchess says that she lives a life of perfect torture. We discussed the origin of the Russian Revolution and the part played in it by various people. She declares that it was the mistake of English and Americans to promote the Revolution, in apparent ignorance of the fact that Russia was not ripe for it.

The question of French industry after the war arouses much interest. The main data are the loss of 2,000,000 men ; the transfer of most of the workers to the war factories of the west and south of France ; the estimate that it will take 3,000,000 workmen eighteen months to repair the devastated territory ; and that to avoid an industrial and perhaps social catastrophe when war industries stop there must be a plan of mobilisation for peace as there was for war, which will continue for some months until the national machinery is renewed. It is, as it stands, double the machinery of 1914,

and the question is to provide the method, order, and organisation for the transformation scene. This will probably have to be provided by Government action. The country which best succeeds in this task is likely to take the first industrial place in the world. Ernest Lavisse at the Marne celebration at the Trocadero yesterday told the schools that the *mot d'ordre* of youth hereafter will be intensive work. I have not heard that right note struck by any British statesman yet.

I do not think that I have yet jotted the fact down that almost every American considers that compulsory national service will be maintained in America after the war.

It struck me to-day that the stake-burning affair has put Mrs. Leeds still more off the throne of Lithuania, as she does not relish frizzling. She prefers England and liberty to a crown and a stake. But she would go if she were told that it was her duty.

Tuesday, Sept. 24. Wrote an article on Allenby's victory. Heard from U.S.H.Q. here that my articles on Pershing's victory had given much satisfaction, and had been read with the greatest interest. They had been sent on with but few excisions.

I looked in to see Commodore Heaton-Ellis at the French Admiralty, to ask for my riding orders in naval affairs if the Italians spoke of things of the sea. H. E. said that the desire of our Admiralty was still to have a British C.-in-C. in the Mediterranean, but that the Italians would not agree. We had two Agamemnons at Mudros and small craft. They were under the French Admiral Gauchet, who was with seven Dreadnoughts at Corfu. The Italians were at Taranto mainly. The Austrians mainly at Cattaro. The Germans might possibly make three Russian Dreadnoughts fit to fight, but more likely only one, together with some smaller ships, and then there was still the *Goeben*, and for all we knew the Russian Black Sea dockyards were working. We want to give Jellicoe the command, and the French will agree but not the Italians. This explains the Admiral's presence here.

H. E. says that he believes that the Austrians could slip by Taranto at any time, though that the Italians will tell me differently. But it will be hard for the enemy to bring about any conjoint enemy action, as Corfu stands in the way, and our ships at Mudros, apart from Taranto. The Italian policy is to keep the ships in port. The destruction of an Austrian Dreadnought and the damage of another by small craft have fortified Admiral Di Reval's position in this matter. Mike Seymour commands at Mudros under the French. There were some Boche submarines in the Black Sea. H. E. showed me a wire to say that Allenby had reached Haifa and Acre and had 32,000 prisoners. Where will he stop? H. E. thinks that if he reaches Damascus the Turks will cave in, and he mentioned that some experts believed it.

Bought a book or two for the journey. Leaving the Gare de Lyon for Padua 8.30 P.M.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ITALY AND THE VATICAN, AUTUMN 1918

Journey to Italy—The British Mission near Padua—Headquarters of the British Army at Lonedo—Talk with General Gathorne-Hardy—The military situation in Italy—Visit to the Comando Supremo—Talks with Generals Diaz and Badoglio—Visit to the Duke of Aosta—The new Italian liaison service—The French Mission—The Bulgarians ask for an Armistice—French and Italian efforts during the war—Italian strengths—Journey to Rome—Talks with Sir Rennell Rodd and the Embassy Staff—Sir Courtauld Thomson—Distribution of Italian and Austrian Armies—Mr. Harris on Vatican affairs—An Italian painter—Talks with General Zupelli—A visit to the Vatican—Talks with Cardinal Gasparri and Monsignore Cerretti—Dr. Malagodi's views—Mr. William Miller—Count de Salis on the Vatican—Conversation with Signor de Martino—The General of the Jesuits—Talk with Signor Bergomini—A visit to Cardinal Gasquet—Father Philip Langdon—Our underpaid diplomats—Observations on the Vatican, Italy, and foreign Powers—German proposal for an Armistice.

Thursday, Sept. 26. Left Paris Tuesday night, and after two nights and a day in the train reached Padua to-day about 8 A.M., and after a snack motored to our mission which is at a pleasing capua about ten miles out. Here I found Delmé Radcliffe, Major Finlay, and the rest of the staff, as well as Le Roy-Lewis. D. R. seemed cross that I had not arranged my trip through him, and was not at all forthcoming. Colonel Grossi, Chief of the Press Bureau, had met me at the station and was very pleasant. I am in the hands of Lieut.-Col. Ponza di San Martino of the G.S. and of Captain Scaravaglio. Diaz returns from Rome late to-night, also his Chief of the Staff, General Badoglio, who is well spoken of.

Nearly all my old friends of the Italian G.H.Q. have been moved on, and the good practice has been instituted of

making staff officers revert to troops for practical experience. The French officer, Colonel Grüss, is still here and I must try to see him. The brilliant Russian Enkel has gone off to command a Serb regiment at Salonika. Lancelot Lowther was my travelling companion from Paris; he was good company, but he was doubled up with a naval officer and I with an Italian. No restaurant car, and not too much sleep these last two nights. I find that we have now R.T.O.s at Modane and Turin and they look after us. Snow on the hills near Modane, and every day powdering lower: the cattle are coming down to the lower valleys. Evidently the mountain fighting is over for this season.

Why do the ewes here lamb in September? Or is it a second crop? I find that our divisions are all changing: 48th, which got into a mess last June at Asiago, may be broken up; 7th and 23rd to go to France; names of replacing divisions not yet announced.

There seem to be 63 divisions of Austrians round the frontier. The Italians have 55 or so, and the case for an Italian offensive still needs proving to me. There is precious little war going on. One can motor along the Austrian Piave front and not be shot at much. I believe the Italians have lost over 400,000 killed, and perhaps three times that number wounded since the war began. The Arditi or shock troops are new to me. They are young picked men with black fezzes, except at the front where all have the casque. Considering how Italy has suffered from specialising her Alpini and Bersaglieri, I doubt the wisdom of skimming the line of its best elements again.

I find that twenty trains a day, each carrying some 400 men, or half a battalion, is about the best that has been put through from Modane. Each train thirty-five carriages. From Modane to the plains the system is electrified, but from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. each day there is a break for repairing the line. Rivers are a little under half full. Roads in excellent order. Every sign of abundant crops, but meat is reported scarce. Much wood being cut, and this is replacing coal in houses and some factories. I saw a large

number of new factories of all sorts near the line. Nearly all the work in the fields and on the roads is being done by women. I am told that all but the principal railways have adapted themselves to wood, and do the best they can.

Lunched at the Sturgeon Inn. Motored via Vicenza to Lonedo, the G.H.Q. of the B.E.F. Italy. Cavan still away, but I found General Gathorne-Hardy, his Chief of Staff, and we had a good talk after tea, another man looking after San Martino.

The H.Q. are magnificently situated. The G.S. is in a very commanding building standing high above the Astico valley, and with quite gorgeous panoramas on all sides. It is a fairly large palace, with long and broad flights of great stone steps leading down the hill, and with an upper balcony and a great terrace, perfectly ideal for all sorts of purposes. Is it wonderful that nobody much in Italy wants to fight in such surroundings ? I begin to understand Hannibal better. The day was perfection, and after a morning fog the sun had come out. We were within range of the Austrian position, whence our sentries must have been visible through a telescope, but I scarcely heard a gun all day. The Prince of Wales is here, but only Claud Hamilton of his party was at tea. They are going for two months to the Australians and Canadians.

G. H. was interested when I told him that Diaz was returning to-night. Delmé had said not for two days. G. H. was very anxious to know what the Cabinet at Rome had decided. The British were awkwardly situated, for they had said that they would take away their divisions and substitute tired troops if nothing were done in Italy, and now the move was suspended because a Franco-American attack from the Meuse to the Suippe had begun to-day. Foch had, as I knew, pressed for an attack. G. H.'s instinct was against it, as mine was, we thinking that Diaz had missed his market which was about July 15 last. There were fourteen inches of snow on the high mountains two nights ago. The only chance of doing any good in these mountain attacks is to put an attack right through, and seize the next ridge. It

is fatal to halt half-way in the valley below. It was now too late, provided the autumn remained normal, to do anything on the mountain front. In the plains the rains would normally begin about October 15, and would continue till December 15 or so. From then on to February 15 the Boches might try something, but it was only a short spell, and any Boche troops earmarked for the West had to clear by February 18, as they had this year for the Boche March offensive. G. H. thought that we might pack off several divisions about the same date for France. Our men liked Italy; they had had a very easy time, and had got on capitally with the people, who had not made one claim against them. But the men were tired of doing nothing, and so were pleased to return to France after ten months here. From some regimental officers I heard the reverse later. The *vino* has caught on, and so have the girls. But the French say that whenever they talk to girls they find an Italian standing by with a knife.

G. H. thought it possible that the Italian Cabinet might decide to attack, to meet Foch's wishes and also from pride and sense of shame, for Italians did not like inaction while all the other Allied fronts were moving. But there was the fact that it was too late in the season to do anything in the mountains, while on the plains the Austrians had an apparently superior force and a relatively short front. Was it worth the risk? We thought not, the conditions being as they are to-day. The Austrians had sent four divisions to France, and probably six, but the Italian intelligence from the Austrian rear was poor and the figures were uncertain. We had still three divisions in Italy, the French only two. In comparisons of Austrian and Italian forces our five were usually omittted. Our strengths were well maintained,[1] but on the nine battalions per division basis, while the Italians and Austrians had 12 to 13 battalions per division. G. H. thought the reduction early this year of our Army from 12 to 9 battalions per division was a bad egg and had done in-

[1] Regimental officers told me battalions were only 760, and trench strengths 400.

finite harm. I explained to him how impossible it was for me to denounce the plan before it was carried out, and the trickery that was perpetrated by the War Cabinet at the expense of our Army.

G. H. thought that there were Austrians and Austrians. The Hungarians, Croats, and German Austrians, Bosniaks, etc., fought well. This H.Q. Staff of ours is still a little under the impression of the temporary capture of some of our 48th Division trenches by the Austrians last June. Italian officers have told me that though they now have two divisions of Czechs and Czecho-Slovaks in their Army, the Czechs against them fight well. The only difference is that they surrender when fairly rounded up, while the Hungarian prefers to go on fighting and die. An Austrian on the Montello was found still working his machine gun though he had had a leg smashed by a shell thirty-six hours before. The Czechs when asked why they fight reply that it is their oath that makes them, and when told that they could safely give information they often refused for the same reason. No, they say, it is true that our officers are no longer here to know, but God will know. The old iron discipline of the Austrian Army is still apparently maintained. Every Czech captured by the Austrians is immediately hanged. In appearance, clothing, boots, etc., the prisoners seem to be very well cared for and well fed.

The Italians came back from Caporetto with only 2200 guns all told. Now they have over 5000 again and a much shorter line to hold, but the calibres of the heavies are far too many. Heavies have been drawn from wherever they could be taken. G. H. thought that our men would be on the Piave during the winter and be replaced by Italians in the mountain zone. A thin line could hold the latter during the winter. Our mountain equipment is in store and will do for the new troops. In our present positions we do not need it. G. H. agreed with me that we should attack the Trentino and control the outlets at least from the Sugana to the Lagarina valleys before attacking again in the plains. It had been proved by experience that we could not march

east and leave this threat upon our flank and rear. Cavan appears to hold the same views as G. H. in all these matters. G. H. said that Diaz had been most helpful in every way, and that Badoglio was a good man. He is forty-five, and has held every sort of command of troops.

Motoring back San Martino told me that some 20,000 of the 3rd Army and 15,000 of the 8th had been laid up by malaria on the Isonzo during the first fortnight of this month. The deaths were only 4 per cent. of the cases, but some 15 per cent. of the forces named were down with it. We passed great numbers of men going on leave, and San M. said that they meant a permanent reduction of 200,000 men at the front. The Austrians have nearly the same furloughs, so the two balance. The men had two furloughs during the year, one of fifteen, the other of ten days, but the days taken in reaching and returning from home were not counted. As it might take six days for Sicilians to reach their homes, there was a serious loss in strength. But the moral effect had been admirable. Stopped at Vicenza for a spell to admire again the ever fresh glories of Palladio. Dined with San Martino and other Italian officers. They all assured me that the Army and public were quite prepared for Diaz to accept the *directives* of Foch, and thought it the right course, but they admitted that nothing had been published to show that Foch had any real control here, and, as a fact, Foch has pressed for an attack and it has not come.

We had some talk of effectives. The Italians have called up twenty-six classes, and as a class is nominally 250,000 when it is first called—actually it is greatly reduced by emigration—I asked how it was that there were still only the value of 55 divisions in the Army. Allowing for 1,400,000 casualties, of which perhaps some 800,000 permanent loss, where were the $250{,}000 \times 26$—waste? I could not get the answer to this conundrum, but no doubt, as with us, the Departments have drained the supply of men, and Turin is said to be full of *embusqués*. They admit that over 5,000,000 men have been called up, but 55 divisions of 13,000 bayonets each only give 715,000 infantry,

and they agree that the Austrians have 900 battalions all told, including other fronts and the interior.

I should like to see a very definite signed statement about Italian effective fighting troops actually on the field before advocating an Italian offensive. Most of the men who deserted home after Caporetto are said to have returned.

Friday, Sept. 27. Last night at 3.30 A.M. Padua was bombed. The metallic noise of the Austrian machines was strident and near. Much scurrying. The Archies replied late and feebly. I heard the first bomb or maroon before the first Archie. Church bells rang the ' all clear ' later.

Nothing to eat or drink in the Hotel Fanti, and no hot bath. Went off at 10 to the Comando Supremo, and visited in succession General Diaz, the *de facto* C.-in-C.; General Badoglio, the Chief of Staff; General Cipriano, a sort of political Chief of Staff and so-called adjoint to Badoglio; also the Heads of various other bureaux and services, mainly of operations and intelligence, and I was shown the distribution maps of all fronts, including yesterday's changes on the French front where the Americans have done well.

General Diaz was very cordial. We had a talk first of events which had passed since we last met. His wound was not severe, and his 23rd Army Corps came back from the Carso in good order. After reminiscences we came to the situation. Diaz told me that he had 55 divisions and the Austrians 63 to 69. The doubt was about 6 Austrian divisions of which he showed me the numbers. The enemy had 670 battalions, and the other 6 divisions would add 68 battalions to the number, total 738. The Austrians had other divisions, including some 15 in the Ukraine, 3½ in Albania, etc., and their total was 90½ divisions. Their strengths were kept up. There were probably four in France.

I saw no signs of the Cabinet Council in Rome having urged Diaz to attack. He thinks it a fixed point in the situation that the Austrians have promised the Germans to keep up their strength against Italy, and they have done so. He is not in a position to attack, having neither superiority of force nor a good opportunity. Did I think the reverse ?

I said that I did not, and had said in France what he was saying now. That is the position, but this does not mean, he added, that I shall not seize the first opportunity to attack. He has evidently schooled himself to accept the changing of the English divisions, though I don't think that he likes it much, because he says that he knew the men with whom he was working and they knew the ground. He thought that operations in the mountains might go on longer than I thought, and said that last year they had fought hard up to mid-December. He admitted that last year the weather was exceptional. As for the snow this year, it had only fallen as heavily as I suggested west of Lake Garda, but not yet east of it. Looking at the General's great distribution map hanging behind his chair, it is certainly very clear that the mass of the enemy is between Lake Garda and Mt. Grappa, and they may still meditate something before the weather closes down.

We then talked of Foch and the unity of command. He admitted that Italy was somewhat apart from the French front, and that distances were long and Switzerland intervened. This affair belonged to Governments, he said, and 'we were really still in the region of accords.' These worked well, and he was closely in touch with Foch and able to suit his strategy to Foch's, but he did not suggest to me that Foch's writ runs in Italy, and I am not sure that I want it to do so if Foch is pushing Diaz on just now. I told him that I was on my way to Rome to find out how diplomacy and politics viewed all these matters. He laughed and said that Rome was the right place to inquire about them, since here at Padua he only made war. He gave me permission to look round his offices and to see into things.

I went on to General Badoglio. A tall stoutly built man, with a square face and all a soldier. He enlarged upon Diaz's theme, and complained a little that in France they did not seem to understand Italy's position, which he asked me to make clear to the British public. Colonel Roure had been sent by Clemenceau to Italy, and only then had realised how things stood. So Badoglio declared. The general

situation was as Diaz had pointed out, but we must remember how Italy's rôle had changed since the early days of the war. They formerly had less than half the Austrians to deal with. Now they had practically the whole, and Italy with her 34 million people was facing Austria with her 53 millions. Italy was inferior, and stood in a poor military situation. The Austrians half encircled her, and any sortie against the circle might only mean a slight gain and a worse position, followed by such a set-back as we had at Cambrai. Italy would be very glad to fight her July 18 or August 8, but to do so she had to possess such a superiority as permitted Foch to pass to the offensive, and he did not see it coming.

'But, if twenty Allied divisions came to you, you would do it?' I asked. 'Yes, certainly,' he said. 'How long will it take using the two railways?' I asked. 'One month,' he replied. He can do forty trains a day on the two lines. He said that he would not dream of asking for troops until Foch's offensive in France closed down, but that then they might come and be back in France for the reopening of the campaign in March. 'Then,' I said, 'you would like them to come in October, to fight for the three months November to January, mainly in the plains, and then to return in February?' Yes, this was his idea, and they had some informal promise of American aid. He wished the Allies to hold certain sectors to relieve the Italians, and claimed the right for the latter to play the chief part in the battle, to share the general sacrifices, and to reconquer their own territory. 'Supposing that you do,' I said, 'what next? Can you go on to Laibach and Vienna across all those mountains with only your two second-grade railways? Can you supply your Armies?' He thought he could, and tightened his belt to show how Italians would stint themselves to bring off the coup. I said that this was all right for a battalion for a day, but not for an Army and a campaign. The scheme in its initial stages, I admitted, looked attractive, but how it would appear to Foch was another matter. Our troops had all fought hard and needed rest.

To employ so much rolling stock for a month in October

and another in February or March seems to me rather difficult, when so much is needed for the Americans and coal is so short. Even now, our move to France from here is held up for want of rolling stock during the new Franco-American attack from the Meuse to the Suippe. This is engaging 14 American divisions, 1st Army, from the Meuse to the Argonne, and 23 French, 2nd Army, etc., from the Argonne to the Suippe. We have done well and the Hindenburg lines are swept clear locally. The Americans got forward twelve miles by 12 noon the first day of the advance, smashing up all opposition. This advance is very threatening for the whole German line. Both Diaz and Badoglio were very complimentary about our men and about Cavan and Gathorne-Hardy.

Afterwards saw other officers. The battle-map section quite good, and all theatres well shown. The Salonika theatre very interesting. About three-quarters of the Bulgarians have been beaten. Not many prisoners, but much material taken and some chance still of a big haul of prisoners. In the Russian theatre we seem to hold the Trans-Siberian throughout, but in Murmansk 60,000 Germans and Finns face 5000 Allies. It is an interesting question whether the Austrian Army will not outstay the German in moral and discipline. Parts of it are bad and disaffected no doubt, but the Italians remind me that Austria suffered no 1806 and remained stubborn to the end of the Napoleonic wars.

The question whether this Allied help should be given this winter is urgent. It can only be decided by a close study of all the military and transport questions interwoven with it. It certainly seems wrong that when we are beating the enemy on all other fronts, the Italian front should be quiescent, but I feel sure that unless a good help can be sent, and can be returned with fair certainty in February next, or in March at latest, or again unless other causes change the position, Diaz had much better let the attack alone. I doubt whether the French understand the real position. They are always so contemptuous of the Italians that this

attitude has become second nature to them. We also are not blameless.

In the afternoon motored out to call upon the Duke of Aosta, commanding the 3rd Army. On the way found myself at Mestre, and changed roads to get to San Giuliano to have a look at the city of histories and mysteries from a new view-point. Venice looking very grey, peaceful and still. No movement at all, just the outline of all the stones and bones. On to Mogliano, where I first saw General Fabbri, the Duke's Chief of Staff, whom I had met in 1916 at Belluno when he was serving Di Robilant in the same capacity. A pleasant talk. Then saw the Duke who talks English well but preferred to speak French. I congratulated him upon the record of the 3rd Army. He told me that he had left 100,000 dead upon the Carso and that last year had cost the Italians 700,000 casualties. There are eighteen Austrian divisions now confronting his seven on the Piave below Montello. I saw all their numbers, names, and stations, and the positions of their batteries, trenches, and flying squadrons, the mass of which latter are on this sector of the front. The Duke is tall, clean-shaven, rather grey looking, and courteous. He seems to be a man of the world, of moderate and sane views, and without ostentation. I found no difference between his views and those of Diaz and Badoglio, so I need not jot them down. He admits that he had 1500 men down a day from malaria during the first fortnight of this month, but now a turn has come for the better. The mosquitoes are very large and cause all the trouble. His worry now is that the Spanish 'flu is taking hold and is pretty deadly. An officer to whom he was talking yesterday is dead to-day. He thinks the Austrians powerful, well-disciplined, and brave. He seemed to think that it would be an excellent thing to do to hustle the Austrians from November to February, but does not see the necessary Allied troops coming yet. He has pushed the last Austrian over the Piave.

As the Duke adopted the hateful Royal habit of remaining standing while we talked, I did not detain him long, and went off to see his bureaux, which were well organised and efficient.

Everything possible to know about the Austrian position seems to be known, every battery, road, track, trench, yard of wire, shelter, dump, and so on. Each Austrian battery has a regular family history with air photos, arc of fire, and everything necessary. The map room is admirably done, and the photos, as usual, first rate. I remained some time to examine everything. Motored back through Treviso, which has been more or less deserted by the inhabitants and a good deal bombed. It is full of troops. The Intendance has gone further back. The right name for the Arditi is Truppi d'Assalto. There is a whole Corps of them, and a battalion in each Army Corps besides.

San Martino thinks that I can put down about eight of the Austrian divisions as pretty bad troops. He told me about his own billet as we motored. He is Head of the liaison service, and has representatives in each Italian Army Corps, division, and regiment. He selects them. They report to him about everything that may interest the C.-in-C., and he has the right of going anywhere and of examining any papers. He does not concern himself with personnel, promotion, or administration, but does with everything concerning strengths and operations. He has to see that his agents do not become too much the mouthpiece of the units they are with on the one hand, and on the other that they do not become too uppish and try to make and unmake generals. They are the *missi dominici* of the C.-in-C. I admitted that Napoleon and Moltke had them, but said that I supposed that San Martino and his myrmidons must be very unpopular as well as very powerful. The deference of others to San M. had already impressed me, and now I knew the reason. I did not remember the system under Cadorna. How long had it been instituted? San M. said not for long in its present form. He thought that many Commanders and units found it answer, as they got things put right quicker, but no doubt he got himself much disliked at times, and once, had he taken a road recommended to him, he would infallibly have been killed. He said—as our own people do—that the Italians still cram too many men into their

front lines and so lose heavily. I threw a fly over him about Caporetto, but he would not rise to it. He said that the causes went back to a great number of political and other circumstances, and that it was too soon to talk of them. I told him in order that he might report it, how fully I agreed with the views of Diaz, Badoglio, the Duke of Aosta, and others. The Duke had told me how right I was to come and see for myself. This, he said, was always his system.

In the evening discussed Italian personalities at Rome, etc. I was confirmed about de Martino and Tedeschini, as well as about Cardinal Gasparri, and added the names of Dr. Malagodi of the *Tribuna*, and of Albertini of the *Corriere*, as of persons to see and sound, but I fear that the latter will not be in Rome. I am advised generally that the leading journalists are better informed and more trustworthy than the Senators and Deputies. They represent more the general public opinion, and are better men. The Army seems to stand clear of politics and despises all the politicians. They would like a Clemenceau, but cannot find one. Some officer said that Diaz was buried under mountains of papers. His rather worried appearance, and his littered desk and that of his A.D.C., confirmed this opinion. Also I thought that Badoglio spoke as though he were in actual command, and talked of orders that he had issued on the night of June 15 for the counter-attack as though they were due to his own initiative. As he is only forty-five, this may be a good thing. We must always recall that the King is nominally C.-in-C., Diaz only Chief of Staff, Badoglio his Assistant Chief of Staff, and General Cipriano his Assistant Chief of Staff for Political Affairs.

Note that people say that the men born in 1898 in Italy are not worth a rap and crowd the hospitals. The fact is put down to all the disturbing revolts, rows, and eruptions of volcanoes in that year! The Italians have the 1919 class in the ranks and the 1920 waiting to join, so they declare that they have made more sacrifices than France, but this is only true about the youngest classes.

In the evening comes a report that the Bulgarians are

asking for an Armistice. San Martino, by the way, I have learnt to appreciate. He is a hard fellow, without sentiment; all his family, who are Piedmontese, are soldiers and have always been soldiers: his brothers have all been killed bar one wounded and a prisoner. It is easy for a soldier to talk to soldiers, whether it is Foch or Pétain, Diaz, Badoglio, or San Martino. We all talk the same language and have the same point of view. Clemenceau alone among politicians is of the family.

The Italians want to go on with us, but the liaison must be preserved as Italian politics are a bit shifty. So far as I can judge from inquiries, Italian ambitions are really limited to the Italian Trentino, Italian Trieste, Pola, and something in Albania. A privileged position in the Adriatic, but a Serbian outlet is accepted. The Dodecanese and Asia Minor are excrescences, and their exclusion from the long lists of the claims of extremists will not be an obstacle to peace. Caporetto brought moderate Italians back to a sense of realities. Italy's future is on the water. So they say. The soldiers, however, do not concern themselves with naval affairs. Like the King of Italy, who spoke to me on the matter two years ago, San M. admits that the men available authorise the creation of more divisions, but that the cadres cannot be found and are even short for the troops now existing.

Saturday, Sept. 28. Walked round to the Papafara Palace, where the old Countess has remained, refusing to budge for the Tedeschi. A fine house with good rooms, some nice old pictures, furniture, and books. The French mission is here, and I saw Colonel Grüss, the serious Alsatian officer whose opinion I value, but we could not get a word alone. This also happened in 1916. The less one talks to Frenchmen in Italy the better is one regarded. However we talked. He thinks that the Austrian offensive is dead for this year. The affair of the Piave had been prepared by a tremendous military, moral, and technical propaganda, as we had both seen from the full records which the 3rd Army had captured, and it was not easy to recommence after such a failure. But

Grüss still thought the Austrian Army solid and that it would resist well. As for the actual number of their divisions and their moral, the only way to test it was by contact, which I expect he longs for. He agreed that the Hungarians and Bosniaks were fighting splendidly. The Czechs also fought well till they could surrender. The Austrian aviation was null. They came out in a great swarm the first day of the attack and then were scarcely seen again. They did nothing for the guns, and the Austrian counter-battery work was consequently bad, but the Austrian artillery was good when it had a mark.[1] An Army was only worth what its cadres were worth, and the Austrian cadres were still good. Grüss thought that within twenty-one days or so the Austrians might send six divisions down to Bulgaria, and that then the position of the Allies might become difficult, as they had no reserves and had fought with all their troops in the line, but if the Austrians took a month to send the first divisions it might be too late. I expect that Grüss thinks that the Italians ought to attack to hold the Austrians here, and this will be said later if the Austrian reinforcement arrives in time. The Austrian troops can be found from the reserves behind the Piave front. But Grüss and I could not discuss Italian affairs in the presence of San Martino. I fancy Foch gets most of his information from Italy from Grüss, and my impression is that the latter favours an attack here. I expect that he would tear most of the Austrian divisions to pieces with criticism, as Enkel used to do, if we came to the point of looking into them. There may be more in Foch's view than meets the eye.

Walked round Padua to see some of the old corners and buildings. Two bombs had fallen into the middle of the theatre, one on the Duomo, and several houses are wrecked. The man who built and named the Palazzo della Ragione must be moving uneasily in his grave.

San Martino announced suddenly, *àpropos de bottes*, that man was the wildest of all wild beasts. He was much

[1] Our regimental officers agree.

amused with the story of the Harvard professor and I having settled on 'The First World War' as the proper title for the campaign. Padua is the home of the rich Jews. Most fled, and the town has been a city of the dead since June, but people are beginning to come back. The old corners are full of interest.

Spent the afternoon in digging out some figures to compare the Italian and the French efforts during the war. The Italian population before the war was 34,000,000 to the 39,500,000 of France, but owing to the emigration in Italy and the larger families there were only 18,000,000 Italians economically active and between eighteen and fifty-five years of age, to the 24,000,000 of French. Before the war there were 67 economically passive out of every 100 in Italy—*i.e.* children and old people—to the 45 of France.

There have been mobilised 5,252,000 Italians and 7,818,000 French. At present for 100 persons in Italy economically active there are 92 passive, while in France there are only 57. The *net* losses from deaths, prisoners, and serious wounds have been 1,500,000 for Italy and 2,000,000 for France, but amongst these the Italian prisoners are over 600,000 and the French about 350,000.

Italy had under arms in June last 4,000,000 men and France 5,000,000, that is to say 512 per 1000 active workers, while France had 506. Out of these 512 or 506 Italy has 301 employed on the Western front and France 294, and of these 301 and 294 respectively the number of combatants is 186 for Italy and 175 for France.

The number of combatants on the Western front is 1,600,000 for Italy and 2,000,000 for France, that is to say, 21 per cent. of the men aged eighteen to sixty-five. These are Italian calculations, and they seem to show that the Italian effort has been very praiseworthy.

Left 7.20 P.M. for Rome. Saw a soldier on the platform suddenly collapse under malaria. It was very sudden, and more like epilepsy. People whisper that it is the plague.

Sunday, Sept. 29. Reached Rome 11.30 A.M. and went to the Grand Hotel. Poor bread, no butter, and three meat-

less days in the week. Electric light and hot baths good. Spent the morning and early afternoon in writing letters to a number of people here. I thought much of the new position caused by the Bulgarian attempt to get an armistice and the Austro-German declaration that they are sending troops [1] to re-establish matters. As Germany is beaten every day in France just now she cannot really spare anything, but Austria can as she has large reserves behind both the Piave and the Tyrol fronts. It will never do for Franchet d'Esperey to be beaten now, and so circumstances alter cases and seem to call at least for a strong Italian demonstration, while we must keep on pressing the Boche in France.

Went to the Embassy in the afternoon. No one in till 6 P.M. Drove through the Borghese Gardens and round the Pincio. Left letters on various people. Saw Colonel Cyril Rocke, Irish Guards, our Military Attaché, at the Embassy later, and he will arrange my visit to the War Minister Zupelli to-morrow. De Salis away from the Vatican Legation, but I saw Bogey Harris, who will see Monsignore Cerretti to-morrow to arrange for me to see him and Cardinal Gasparri. Tedeschini, Gasquet, and Langdon away for some days. Bogey thinks that Gasparri and Cerretti are the chief people to see, and that Tedeschini is only useful as a personal friend of the Pope's. He thinks Langdon clever. I seem to have all the chief men on my list, in the journalistic, diplomatic, and Vatican circles, but it will take some few days to see them all. Bogey declares that the Vatican are pro-Vatican and not pro-German. They feel much hurt at the criticisms of the *Morning Post* and *Times*.

Bogey very anxious to know about Ireland, but I could not enlighten him much. He says that it is no good for the Pope to pull the strings in Ireland when he knows that the puppets will not dance. He impressed upon me that the Italian Government were now on the best of terms with the Vatican. I was interested in the expansion of Rome since my last visit, but I like the old Rome of my youth best. It

[1] Hungarian and Polish troops were sent from the Ukraine on the 27th, but on reaching the Serbian frontier refused to go further.

strikes me as a new light that Rome is more than half Eastern. The houses and gardens are Cairene. The people strike me as almost Levantine, as I see them all out on a fine Sunday. The offices are shut all the afternoon like Calcutta in the summer.

In the evening the military and naval attachés, Colonel Cyril Rocke and Captain Dennis Larking, R.N., as well as Bogey dined with me. I made the acquaintance of Colonel Buckey, a sharp and astute American military attaché. All these people are confirmed adherents of the Diaz view of the situation, and are not yet moved by the Bulgarian convulsion. I said that I agreed with them up to yesterday, but that one must not retain fixed ideas in a changing situation. Will the Italians know if Austria has sent six or twelve divisions to Bulgaria? This is the doubtful point. Larking asked me to say nothing about the Admiralissimo question, as he hoped that things were coming right. On the whole the soldiers thought that Italy was too far away to accept Foch's *directives*. They are impressed by the military dangers still run by Italy, and think the Piave victory almost a miracle.

Monday, Sept. 30. Went to the Embassy to see the Ambassador, Sir Rennell Rodd, who has returned from England. He has only taken this one month's leave in four years. He gave me the address of the painter whose works I admired so much when the Duke of Sutherland brought them home last year. H. E. quite approved of my plan for learning the situation here, and is anxious to help me. We meet at dinner to-night with Prince Colonna, Rocke, Sir Courtauld Thomson, etc., Excelsior, 8.30. Malagodi coming here to talk to-morrow at 5 P.M. A good article in the *Messagero*, taking my point about Bulgaria and saying that Italy is watchful and ready and that her hour may strike soon. A very proper line. I drove out to see the painter's studio. He was out, but his wife showed me some of his pictures. A remarkable colourist, with great natural talent for drawing and an exuberant imagination. I was perplexed by the strange brushwork until the Signora

told me that it was done with his fingers. Two sea pieces, one of deep blues and the other of greens with nymphs, etc., bathing, very wonderful examples. Some fine sketches of pictures he is doing and has done. Made an appointment for 3 to-morrow.

Lunched with Bogey, Rocke, Larking, the American military attaché, and a secretary. More talk of Italy and the war. The American secretary brought a copy of the *Matin* with the Rome postmark on it. Two pages were covered with abuse of England and France and their statesmen in big block letters in red. Heard about various Missions of ours in Italy.

'Les petites marionnettes
Font, font, font,
Trois petits tours,
Et puis s'en vont.'

How these various agencies of information love each other!

Walked round Rome in the afternoon and looked at the shops and people. Saw nothing to tempt me. The Victor Emmanuel monument looks like a wedding cake made by a mad Gunter for a demi-mondaine. The poor old 'Londra' has moved up the hill, and the old house is called the Hôtel des Princes. Watched a paper kiosque: the *Idea Nazionale* seems to be the most read paper, and by long chalks, among the common folk.

A pleasant dinner. Mrs. Rocke, an American and nice looking; they have been married only a year. She knows Rome and its people well. Sir Courtauld's Red Cross experiences extend to all Mediterranean theatres. In Italy with 100 ambulances and a small personnel he has brought 400,000 wounded from the battlefields, his people suffering many losses and having gained a number of decorations and mentions. He considers the Italians to be brave fighters. Caporetto was not, in his opinion, an exception because the Italians did not fight. He puts it all down to loss of moral at the back of the front. Rodd agrees with me about the dangers involved in destroying Austria. Sonnino, like

Berthelot, holds the same views. H. E. was helpful to me about Press people, and will get de Martino to see me; but he warns me that Sonnino is a man who decides for himself. de Martino is a little less Imperialistic than he was, and has toned down. H. E. recommends to me the editor of the *Giornale d'Italia*. All here are profoundly impressed by Ansaldo's, which have 60,000 workmen, have enormously extended their works, and have found iron in the Aosta Valley. They claim to be able to transfer into peace industries within a week! Bogey looked in. I am to see Cerretti to-morrow or Wednesday; but they seem very incensed against the *Morning Post* for some line they took a year ago, and I shall have to *amadouer* them a bit. Rocke told us that at an international review held in Rome the Czechs were easily first in appearance, steadiness on parade, and arm drill. The Gordons a good second, and the rest nowhere.

I see that I have not jotted down how the Italian Armies stand. From their right at the mouth of the Piave to Switzerland there stand in succession the 3rd, 8th, 4th, 6th—which latter includes the French and British under an Italian Army commander—the 8th, 1st, and the 7th. The 9th is in reserve. The missing numbers are non-existent Armies. The 2nd Army has been broken up on account of Caporetto, and I think the 5th has been renumbered the 9th. One must note that there is only one Army in reserve.

The Austrians are in two groups, one, under Boroevic, from the Piave mouth to near Feltre, and the other, under the Archduke Joseph, from Feltre to the Swiss frontier. Boroevic has the 5th Army of the Isonzo on his left, the 6th Army on his right, and the 4th Army in reserve south of Udine. The Archduke's group takes up the line with the 11th and then the 10th Armies. There are also the Riva garrison and the two *rayons* near to the Swiss border.

This distribution is defensive, but might produce offensive strategy. There is no unified command except the Emperor Karl and Von Arz.

Tuesday, Oct. 1. The Armistice with Bulgaria and the

Military Convention appear to have been settled on with vertiginous speed. Is it a purely military proposition to have had such a success ? No one appears to have expected it. It is a Bulgarian Caporetto, and perhaps equally brought about by propaganda in the rear. The Boches are simply stunned by it all.[1]

Bogey lunched with me. He said that he had been told that the Pope's peace circular had been written by the Pope himself, and that he had consulted no one. De Salis was away and had no previous knowledge even of the intention.

The Pope, said B., was like this sometimes. He was a dark horse, and it was not known whether he was very intelligent or the reverse. B. laughed at the Pope's allusions to the freedom of the seas, and said that no one knew what it meant. The Pope's knowledge of seas was confined to the Vatican fountains. I am to see Cardinal Gasparri to-morrow at 11 A.M., and am warned that he will go at me about the *Morning Post*. It will be the most helpful *entrée en matière* for my purposes.

We went off to the studio, and I bought several of the painter's cartoons and sketches, and ordered two pictures. He is agreeable in conversation and has great talent. I shall now have examples of his range, and shall see what the best judges say in England. His manner of painting with his fingers for brushes is pretty dangerous for the health. He seems to me a natural artist. He puts his pictures in the sunlight when they are painted, and repaints any parts that crack. He is of medium height, and is evidently of humble origin. He is a little like a certain English family type in face, and short whiskers increase the resemblance. He has painted himself with a beard, but he never had one, and it was only for effect. I told him that I did not like the Rubens type of his ladies in the allegorical pieces, and that he must paint my ladies slim ! Philistinism ! Some of his cartoons

[1] The Germans decided to apply for an Armistice on September 29 and warned their Allies the same day (*vide* the German White Book of August 1, 1919).

are really almost Michael Angelesque. I am trying to get his sketch-books with his studies, which are joys.

Rocke called for me and took me to the War Ministry afterwards, where I had a good talk with General Zupelli, the War Minister—a tall man with an easy and courteous manner ; he was in mufti. The Cabinet here seem to have grasped thoroughly the critical nature of the present phase of the war and its changing character. Zupelli agrees with Diaz and Badoglio about the situation as it was three days ago, but says that if the Entente send more troops to Italy, —a solution which he prefers—or if the Austrians begin to withdraw their reserves to reconstitute their Eastern front, then the situation will have altered, and Italy will act. 'Can you be sure that you will know when Austria is moving East?' I asked. 'No,' said Zupelli, 'we cannot. Such movements are too easily concealed for a time, but the troops will be identified elsewhere if they leave our front, and we may know by other means.' He thought that the defence of Northern Serbia and the Danube line would now be a great anxiety to Austria. He said that the Rumanian Treaty had not yet been ratified, and that nothing prevented the Rumanians from starting a war again except the presence of Austrian troops. We Italians, he added, could not make a firm plan yet, and our actions must be settled by events from day to day. This seems a reasonable point of view.

The Italians do not mean to commit imprudences. Z. told me that the Italian division on the Salonika front was unusually strong—52,000 men. It was really a strong Army Corps, but the French *communiqués* persistently ignored it. He thinks that the Bulgarian campaign was not a military proposition, and suggested that the Americans at Sofia had engineered it. But we had scored heavily, and now the question was whether Turkey would not go next. Yes, I said, it would be with the Entente and Germany before long as in a famous French picture 'Enfin Seuls!' and the embrace would be rather stifling. Z. complained that he could not get the tanks which he wanted. Our heavy tanks were of no use in Italy where the little Renaults did best, but

Foch could not spare him any. Ansaldo's were doing well, and the Aosta mine was just beginning to produce results. Water-power is being used and not coal. We talked of the unified command. Z. questioned whether the Italian front was not more naturally connected with the Eastern fronts than with France. An interesting point of view. But he said that Italy was quite prepared to receive Foch's ideas and to play up to them when practicable. At present Italy has no strategic reserve. She had only one Army out of the line, and if an attack came on the mountain or the river front the reserve would all be drawn in there, and Italy would be without reserves on the other front. The fact that Italy was in a poor strategic situation, and was inferior in force, imposed great prudence, but Italy felt deeply the loss of Venetia. It was cut out of Italy's side, and she was determined to recover it at her first opportunity. I talked afterwards to Colonel Vachelli, the Minister's Military Secretary, about a variety of matters. In the evening Sir Courtauld Thomson dined with me and we talked Red Cross, Athens, and British politics.

Wednesday, Oct. 2. Spent the morning at the Vatican with the Cardinal and Secretary of State, Gasparri, and Monsignore Cerretti. Up an intolerable number of stairs to an upper court, and then more stairs, with those antediluvian butterflies—the Papal Guards—at every corner. Waited for the Cardinal in a Council Chamber, richly but simply decorated. All red, gold, and marble ; massive furniture and a few fine pieces, commodes, clocks, etc. Parquet floors with good carpets. Wall red silk in gold panels, a domed roof painted and with frescoes as a frieze. A long heavy table in the centre with ten red and gold chairs, and one at the end. The table red velvet with silken red hangings to the floor. Before each chair a large, flat, leather writing-pad, very hard, with three silver stands fixed in them for pen, ink, and sand. No blotting-paper! The Vatican was not born yesterday. I must get some one to make me a writing-pad like these. They are about three feet long. I have never before visited these stately silent rooms of the inmost Vatican sanctuaries. I

cannot imagine better surroundings to inspire calm and dignified decisions. The silence is absolute. Knowing that the Cardinal was going to attack me, I felt like a prisoner before the Inquisition, and the stake seemed near.

The Cardinal is a man above middle height and strongly built, with a powerful head and signs of will and decision. He greeted me in a friendly way, but we had hardly sat down before his face hardened, his eyes flashed fire, and he made severe reflections on the *Morning Post*, accusing it of bias and ignorance, but dwelling even more on its failure to produce proofs of its assertions when challenged by Cardinal Bourne. As I knew nothing of the case and had not been with the *M.P.* when it happened, my withers were unwrung. G. then said that such polemics were terrible, and I then said that the incident which he had mentioned gave particular point to the request which I was going to make to him. My complaint against the Vatican was that we knew little or nothing in London of their point of view, outside the F.O., and though, of course, the Cardinal told de Salis a great deal, it was all locked up in the F.O. pigeon-holes, and I dared say that after being handled by such masters of diplomacy,—and I said that I had always considered the Italians the first diplomatists in the world—much of the original force of the idea was lost. Besides, what was the good of leaving the Press in ignorance ? We were living in democratic days, and such polemics as those to which G. had referred were exactly such as we must wish to avoid. How could they be avoided ?

I thought that we might take a lesson from the soldiers in this war. In most alliances allies had ended by hating each other more than the common enemy. Now, though we were twenty-eight states or so in alliance we were united. Why ? Because of our liaison service. I had come to him, whom I regarded as a Chief of Staff, to become acquainted with the *chefs de service* of his Staff. What I wanted was to have letters sent to me describing the situation as the Vatican saw it, and I said that they might well contain the frankest criticisms, as my answers might, and that neither side should

feel aggrieved. 'Will you undertake that the *M.P.* will in this case follow our indications?' asked G. I replied, hotly, 'Certainly not!' for my editor and his paper were absolutely independent, and I could answer for nothing, but that the chances were that a reasonable view would be taken by reasonable men if they had all the facts before them. How could such view be taken if they had not? Then I went on to say that we were Conservatives with strong desire for order, discipline, and good government, and that the Vatican had similar views, and that it seemed to me folly for us to waste our time attacking each other when we both had the same enemies, such as the Bolshevists and anarchists of all countries. I had come away from one of the most interesting military positions ever known because the hour for the reconstitution of Europe was at hand, and as an old Intelligence officer I took off my hat to the best as well as the oldest Intelligence Service in the world, and wished to make use of it in a common cause.

The Cardinal listened and appeared to take increasing interest in my case, of which the above is only the outline, and he began to give signs of increasing approval. He said at last that he agreed, and asked me to go straight up to Cerretti and lay the case before him. He kept on making observations on my different points. I had mentioned Russia and Poland while talking, and G. burst into violent recrimination against the late régime in Russia, declaring that the history of the Catholics of Russia in recent years had been one long and terrible *martyrologie*, and that Providence had happily intervened at last to destroy the detestable system. I then answered various questions about the military situation, and we came to talking about the Bulgarian surrender, about which he seemed to know a good deal, alleging that it had been prepared not only in Sofia but at Zurich. The Bulgarians had wanted to make peace and be left in peaceful possession of their conquests, but this had been refused, he said.

G. then began to discuss the eventful settlement and was strongly pro-Poland, believing that the so-called Austrian

solution was best. How did we propose to restore order and stability in Europe? We could not cut the throats of a hundred million Germans; and if we destroyed Austria we should leave several weak states to be eaten up at leisure by a discontented Germany. We would take our troops away. America would do the same, and the sooner the better, G. added, to my amusement. What State other and better than a Hapsburg federation could oppose a beaten Germany when her power of organisation restored her to much of her old strength? Poland he knew. It had a history and traditions. But what was Jugo-Slavia, what were its confines, language, history, and traditions? He did not know of them. I said that I agreed, but that I was in a minority on this point, and that Austria would be much diminished. He said that Sonnino agreed with us, and that what our diplomacy was preparing was the resuscitation of Germany and the enslavement of Austria. But, he added,—and he returned to the point more than once—at the Vatican we are only concerned with the religious point of view and take no part in politics. It was difficult to see the line of demarcation, but I did not refer to this, nor to Ireland, as I do not know the present point of view at home. I left him in no doubt at all that our victory in the war was assured. We ranged over the map and discussed personalities and ideas. I found him witty and fond of a joke. A strong, self-confident personality, well armed with information on every point we discussed; quick, alert, and combative. In the Borgia days I should not have cared to dine with him had he disliked me. He speaks pretty good French. I told him, by the way, that I was not a Catholic, and sympathised with Protestant Ulster. It was not the religious question that interested me, but the politico-military question.

I then took my leave of him and went up to Cerretti, who received me at once. I told him the pith of my request to the Cardinal, and finding that the matter was of the Monsignore's competence, and that Cardinal Gasquet and Father Langdon may not be here till the 12th, I asked Cerretti to arrange the correspondence. This he undertook to do, and

I promised to write also, laying stress on the need for plain speaking and upon a mutual understanding not to be vexed with frankness. Cerretti speaks a sort of American-English fairly well. The great hope of the Church is Anglo-Saxondom since the Latin races began to desert the churches, and I hope that we shall get the correspondence in order before long. I had left three rosaries with the Cardinal, with the request that the Pope should bless them for three faithful daughters of the Church in England. I had not been talking to Cerretti for twenty minutes before a messenger from the Cardinal brought them back duly blessed. So it was true, as I had been warned by young de Salis, that the Cardinal would go straight to the Pope and tell him all that had passed between us. I found Cerretti much interested in Mr. Hughes and his future as a politician. A keen, quick-witted Italian, anxious to please. Both he and the Cardinal discussed numerous matters which I have not noted here.

After lunch Dr. Malagodi, the director of the *Tribuna*, came up to my rooms, and we had a good talk. I told him that I had come here to obtain better information about the political situation in Italy, and that I wanted him to discuss it with me and would then make a proposal to him. For an hour and a half he ranged over the whole field, and I found him judicious, logical, and apparently unbiased by any crank theories or political association. He holds, strongly, the Diaz view of the military situation, and goes further by asking whether Germany, instead of attempting the recovery of Bulgaria, may not aim a blow at Italy. He holds to the Treaty of London as regards peace terms, and declares that Italy must have Trieste and all Istria, including Pola. The Cardinal had told me, by the way, that I could regard peace terms between Italy and Austria as already settled in advance, and that the difficulties in the Adriatic, Trieste included, would be overcome by granting a form of autonomy to the regions in dispute.

In the late afternoon the painter brought my cartoons. They include the first of a series of allegorical battle pictures

of the war,—that is to say, the red chalk drawing of it—the chalk sketch of the picture 'Life and Death,' and the chalk drawing of a frieze in the Aleotti Villa, and some smaller sketches. I find that he has studied and has won the first Prize at Milan by twenty-nine out of thirty votes; also at Turin. He is thirty-three, and has painted for eleven years.

I saw Mr. William Miller, *Morning Post* correspondent, to-day, and had tea with him and his wife at 36 Via Palestro. A clever man with good judgment, but his political views differ from mine. He is for destroying Austria. He told me that the so-called Reuter reports of debates here are from the Stefani Agency, which is disliked by all journalists, but has some hold over the Government. It is run by a man called Friedlander, who has an Austrian wife. The so-called Rome wireless which figures in English papers no one here can trace. The Stefani Agency frequently bowdlerises debates, and its messages are tendentious. He asked me to warn Gwynne. Miller a good, cool, independent man with much knowledge of Italy.

Thursday, Oct. 3. Went to the Embassy, and Rodd showed me over it. He has some nice Italian pictures. The house has been greatly improved. He thinks Italian officials honest, and that editors cannot be bought. The public care little for the Chambers, but care much for municipal politics. Rodd has always found the leading Italian papers straight, i.e. the *Tribuna, Corriere, G. d'Italia, Messagero, Secolo*, etc.

Lunched with de Salis, Bogey, and the American Stewart, who is doing here the same as Cravath in London, on a reduced scale. Much chaff about Jugo-Slavia. Bogey declares the Vatican to be the household cat of Europe, and whenever anything is lost, or the cream disappears, the cat is accused. De S. says that when the Boche gets beaten he beats his prisoners, and when we get beat we beat the Vatican. The Americans are adaptable people, and are very popular here. They are accused of mixing up Red Cross and Propaganda. I chaffed Stewart about carrying Chicago samples under the tail-board of his ambulances. De S. says

that they think in London that a Catholic British Minister spends his time in kneeling to His Holiness when he has an audience, but, as a fact, he often speaks very frankly to him, and it would be no good having a Minister who would not speak frankly. The Vatican see it, and know that this is the only way to get on. I told him that after studying the Cardinal I did not want to look further for the dominating influence at the Vatican. De S. was glad that I had come to see for myself. Some people thought that Gasparri was a querulous old woman in petticoats, but I had seen what a strong individuality he possessed. He was acute, perfectly informed, and had more statesmanship than all our War Cabinet put together. Besides, the Vatican could always wait, which ephemeral governments could not. It was a great business organisation, perfectly well-ordered, and very alert. De S. could not tell me much of Vatican finance except that they seemed to want for nothing and never beat the big drum or sent the hat round. They had much money invested, but not in Italy for fear of confiscation.

In the afternoon I had an invitation from the Princess Faustina to go and stay with her at Viareggio, but I have been away so long that I cannot manage it. Later, I saw de Martino, the Secretary-General to the Foreign Office here. An office stacked with papers. A smallish man, confident, logical, and well informed ; a good talker, and he galloped me round the diplomatic steeple-chase course discussing all points of interest. I asked him if I might speak plainly to him, and, receiving permission, said a good many things about Italian policy, and he replied to me very frankly. Orlando has just made a statement in the Chambers, and is off to Paris for an Allied Council on Bulgaria. The Chambers are prorogued till the 10th, I think. De M. told me that there was nothing for Italy to do but to hold to the Treaty of London and to admit no compromise. But when the terms of the settlement were finally discussed, then accommodation was possible, and no doubt Italy would then accept modifications on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. The idea is that Italy may surrender some claims to the Southern Slavs that she

would not surrender to Austria. Italy was in danger of being stifled in the Mediterranean by the ambitions of the Powers. He thought that France and Italy must agree, because Italy took the place of Russia for France, and Italy herself had to work with France. But it was no use for France to talk of the Latin Sister, and so forth, unless material advantages were offered to Italy, and affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean deeply concerned Italy's future. Italy is relentlessly practical and without sentiment, quite the reverse of the usual opinion. She is logical and follows out *real-politik*. De M. believed that all Italy desired to march with England, and hoped that we were on the same lines. I obtained his views on a variety of subjects, and we parted on cordial terms.

At the hotel I found Malagodi and had another talk with him. He assured me that the *Tribuna* belongs to very rich people who leave him absolute freedom, and that he is independent of all control. Dined vilely at the Caccia Club.

I have omitted to say that I asked Cerretti about Ledochowsky, the General of the Jesuits, and asked why they kept him in Switzerland with a great separate organisation. It was not good staff work. He reminded me, however, that the General was either an Austrian or a German subject, he did not remember which, and had been deported in consequence. He had taken with him the British, French, American, and other Missions, who were still with him in Switzerland. 'Then why do you not relieve him?' I asked. 'Because the appointment is for life and we can't do it,' C. replied. If one of our political lunatics learns that there is a British Mission under an alien enemy in a neutral country, there will be a nice fuss! The Cardinal told me that some of the Vatican letters had been opened, and I must find out more about the junketings of the Vatican Bag. Note that I found at the Vatican, as elsewhere, no trace of any hostility between the Quirinal and the Vatican, but rather the reverse. They are like man and wife who may fall out, but together fall on a third party who intervenes. The temporal power cry is long since stifled. If it were offered, the Pope would

take to flight. He could not address a cab strike from St. Peter's. He has all the advantages, under the Law of Guarantees, of a peaceable existence, and none of the worries of managing a democracy. Who, then, would wish to change? They do not even grumble at having their wireless station confiscated for the war. They are Italians first and realise the *salus populi* principle. People who think that they please the Quirinal by attacking the Vatican make a great mistake.

As for the Blacks and Teutophilism, I think that the great Roman families who have been contumacious, are, with a few exceptions, mainly influenced not by religious but by aristocratic considerations. They hate democracy in all its forms, and love the feudal ideas which the Austrian Court represents.

Friday, Oct. 4. Met Lord Southborough in the morning on his way to India to clear up the Montagu reforms. He tells me that Lord French has become a Home Ruler, that Conscription will not be enforced, and that the Majority Report of the Irish Conference will form the basis of a Bill for the Ulster men to pull about. The question of an Election seems still open. L. G. is for it, because he hopes to get a majority for five years' lease of life, but neither Tories nor others are keen about it.

Went to see Bergomini, Sonnino's intimate friend. Bergomini a superior character, quick, forcible, and attractive. Much talk of Italian politics with Bergomini and Vettori. They each own other journals in the provinces. Vettori is one of the best of Italian journalists. People seem to live on very small incomes here in spite of the awful prices of everything, and I cannot but admire the high sense of public duty which I find here, and the strong patriotism and independence of the leading pressmen.

There is no doubt that the darling wish of every Italian heart just now is to have a large block of American troops in Italy. They cannot afford, politically, to end the war with Austria in Venetia, and they cannot afford to gain less than Austria offered them before the war, because this would give

too good a case to the Socialist elements. I believe that the Trentino, Trieste, and Pola would satisfy Italy. I do not think that the shrewdest people here wish to break up Austria. It is not part of Italy's war aims. If it comes they will accept it, but they will not press it. They do not want a Germany always on their backs, and they laugh at Wickham Steed's idea of a semicircle of Slav States round Germany, believing that they would be snapped up one by one. Jugo-Slavia is a perpetual source of sarcasm.

In the afternoon drove off to the English Cardinal Gasquet's palace and had tea with him and his secretary, Father Philip Langdon. The Cardinal a charming and courteous old gentleman. He showed me over his palace, which had some pleasant rooms. Every Cardinal's house has a Throne Room with a great chair for throne, and when there is no Pope at the house it is turned round facing the wall so that no one else may sit upon it. As the Pope never leaves the Vatican now, the palaces of the cardinals have each a room and a big chair wasted. I suppose that this will continue till the end of time. We had a good talk at tea, where Father P. L. joined us. An energetic Benedictine with a strong face and equally strong views. He and the Cardinal told many good stories of Rome and of the strange treatment of the Vatican by all and sundry. If these are correct and the Vatican publishes accounts of its proceedings during the war, I should say that it will come better out of things than most Governments. I was told that the Pope promised to make a great protest to the world if a single case could be proved of the violation of Belgian nuns, or of the cutting off of children's hands. An inquiry was instituted and many cases examined with the help of Cardinal Mercier who was here. Not one case could be proved. One handless child was found, but the evidence pointed to the mother having amputated the child's hand for purposes of begging! Little of the good work done by the Vatican *re* prisoners seems to have been acknowledged. The complaint in general is that the Vatican case is never presented fairly to the world. I was given many

instances. Both scoffed at the supposed hostility of the Quirinal: actually there is a high official of the Italian Government who comes to the Vatican daily, and the accord seems close. By the way, a Cardinal is Illustrissimo and a Monsignore Reverendissimo. But a jockey may be illustrious and cannot well be reverend. I should have thought that the 'most reverend' should be placed first.

Great difficulty in getting away from Rome. Sir S. Hoare, in charge of passports, says the minimum time to get them *viséd* is four days. One might be here for ever if one were taken in by this gammon. The hall porters at the hotels have been trafficking with sleeping-car tickets, with the result that they are now only given out on the day of departure, and claimants have to make a queue at 7 A.M. and take their chance. It is about 10 to 1 against getting one. Spent the late afternoon in overcoming these obstacles, and succeeded, thanks to Vachelli, Rocke, and Scarbrough's very intelligent young nephew, Robin Hollway, now assistant to Rocke, who blandly signed an Italian movement order for me.

In the evening I dined with de Salis and Bogey. The former gets, nominally, £3500 a year. After taxes, etc., it comes to £2000 only, and de S. loses money daily. As for Bogey, he is unpaid, and as he pays £800 a year for his rooms alone, and does some entertaining, serving the Government costs him £3000 a year. Now the Germans and Austrians—and probably the Americans later, for they are becoming alive to the moral forces which the Vatican controls—may be presently represented by well-found missions with ample funds. We have got a start if we can use it, but the Boches do things well here and entertain freely. Von Bülow's hospitality was particularly princely, and all this will recommence at the Peace. The French Mission has stupidly been withdrawn. De S. cannot compete on £2000 a year, and at least should have an entertaining allowance of £2000 a year. It might well come out of propaganda funds, for the British propaganda here is of the most useless character by

all accounts. The Americans do things better—open every sort of helpful agency, look after the children of men at the front, supply the wants of the people, give milk to the babies, and in a score of ways win the affections of the people. It is said that 35 per cent. of the American troops are Catholics; the Knights of Columbus and other Catholic agencies give generous help. The Americans have consequently become the most popular people here, though some English, like Lady Rodd and Mrs. Ross, have done much good.

I went down to the fountain of Trevi and threw in the usual tribute for my return to Rome again. It is well to keep one or two cherished superstitions. Poor Robertson did not do so. He *may* have got as far as the fountain, but one may bring a Scot to Trevi and not be able to induce him to contribute the bawbee!

Saturday, Oct. 5. Ferdinand of Bulgaria abdicates in favour of his son, Boris, thus hoping to get the best of both worlds. Vettori told me yesterday that the last Cabinet here agreed to accept the unified command, and that the reference to it in Orlando's speech was understood in this sense. The Government thus protects itself from the dangers of its military position, and the next word is with Foch.

Father Langdon came in at 10 this morning and said that we could talk more freely alone. He is a mine of information on Vatican questions. He talked of Ireland, Foreign Missions, and India, and was very illuminating on all points.

I did not talk to Father Langdon on the subject, but I think that it would be better for us to foster and watch the Irish College here than to boom Maynooth. At the latter place, though the education is good, the young priesthood brood too much over Irish grievances, and they leave Sinn Feiners. Here in Rome they find themselves in a larger world, rub shoulders with Englishmen, Scots, and foreigners of all races, and regain a sense of proportion. It would be best to close Maynooth. But we should keep an eye on the

training staff at the Irish College here and see that proper men are appointed to teach. There are anti-British influences here, too, and they should be gradually shouldered out.

Pope Benedict's election, like Bonar Law's, was due to a division of opinion about two other rival candidates for the Papacy. He was the *tertius gaudens*. I do not believe him to be either pro-German or pro-Austrian. He has never held a post in either country. He was Rampolla's man of confidence formerly. Rampolla was Francophil, and Austria negatived his election to the Papacy. Who has most influence with the Pope is a question. I imagine Gasparri, from his strong personality; but Tedeschini is his personal friend, and I am not yet sure that the latter's influence is so slight as some people tell me it is.

The Pope's Peace Note, I am informed, was not drawn up by himself alone, but by the whole of the Vatican forces. What they did was to take the public statements of all the leading statesmen of the belligerents and to select and lay stress upon the points on which they seemed to be in agreement. But this assumed that public statements corresponded with real thoughts, and this was not by any means the case! The note was submitted to the Italian Government and was seen by one of my Italian acquaintances five days before it was published. The Quirinal merely stated that the moment for publication was inopportune. The Vatican thought not, because they had heard from their Nuncios abroad that both Germany and Austria desired to treat. But just when the Note was published (August 1917), the Russian Revolution was becoming Bolshevist, and the Central Powers, seeing Russia's impending collapse, changed their views, to the Vatican's intense chagrin.

I think that there are some of the best brains in the world at the service of the Vatican, and that its moral force and weight will increase steadily, particularly in the British Empire and America, and the faster the more it is martyrised. Its published documents need careful reading.

Every phrase and word is weighed. Such a letter as that of the Pope to the Irish bishops reads to Italians like a severe rebuke ; to us it has no such signification. We miss the meaning of the subtle phrases. You have to knock an Englishman down with an argument to make him understand it. The Vatican is still in the old traditions of mediæval diplomacy : the phrasing is too subtle for non-Latin races. But the severities are reserved for private letters, in which the real opinions come out, and most of the rating is done by their means.

I think that just now we might, but probably America will, be good friends with the Vatican. The Vatican is Italian. Two brothers of the Pope were admirals in the Italian Navy : all the Vatican leaders, or most of them, have brothers and other relations in the Italian Parliament, Army, Navy, or Administration. The Quirinal and the Vatican work together now, and nothing is gained when we support one and denounce the other. De Salis, Langdon tells me, is the most able and intelligent of all the diplomatists in Rome, but it is commonly said that no one in London heeds him. I think that the moral forces which the Vatican controls, and the political weight that comes from them, are very great. A restored Poland, and an America one-third Catholic, will increase the Vatican's power, but it will take a man of courage and far sight in England to draw the right conclusions. When I told Gasparri that my sympathies were with Ulster, he did not alter his manner in the least.

The geographical situation of Italy and her islands makes it indispensable for her to be allied with a strong naval power. There is a good feeling towards England and a deep desire to act with her, but the Americans are taking our place [1] very fast. Questions of the sea and of Italian expansion in the Mediterranean come first with the Quirinal, while Foreign Missions and Protectorates weigh heavily with the Vatican. In both, Italy's path is often crossed unnecessarily by certain Powers. The Italian population will in a few years surpass

[1] An incident which occurred at the Paris Conference later on changed Italian views a good deal.

that of France, and the great increase of industries during the war will allow Italy to support a larger population, aside from what she may gain at the Peace. To hold a just balance between France and Italy hereafter will tax all the wit of our F.O.

I think that Italy will get over the winter in spite of serious difficulties. Of meat there is only enough to allow 3 lbs. a month per head of the population. But the Army is now again well fed and contented. All the leading men are deeply concerned about the Allied failure to support Italy in the recovery of Venetia, and I regard the dispatch of three American divisions to Italy, and promptly, as the absolute minimum to keep the country in good mood. Colonel Buckey, the American Military Attaché, tells me that he has given the same advice at Washington, and strongly urged me to press the point at Paris.

This will not be enough for an offensive, but it will have a great moral effect, particularly if the reinforcements march from the Alps by many roads and show themselves to as many people as possible. Some might come to Genoa, Leghorn, and even Civita Vecchia, and reach the front by march route. We could spread exaggerated tales of their strength. As for the offensive in Italy, it is a question for Foch, and I think that Italians trust him.

I regard the Sardinian and Roman troops, together with the Alpini, the Arditi, and the Czechs, as the best here. The Sicilians are great when they are in form, but they are unequal. The mountains all over Italy supply good men. The peasants, generally, are hard, and good in the attack. At this moment the Austrians in Italy have from 1200 to 1400 more heavy and medium guns than Diaz has.

As for the Navy and the Admiralissimo question I have told everybody who has asked for my opinion that a British admiral ought to command in the Mediterranean. To place the Italians at Taranto, the French at Corfu, and other people at other places, is to ask for trouble. But Italian pride cannot stomach a French Command of the Army and a British of the Navy. Besides, the Adriatic is regarded as

an Italian sea,—*mare nostrum*—and the defence of all the east coast of Italy is closely bound up with naval operations in this sea. This defence Italy will not readily abandon to any one. So I have merely stated my opinion, and have left it at that. I have been asked to write for several papers and have refused. The *Italie*, whose editor's letter I did not answer, has heaped coals of fire on my head by eulogising me to-day.

I should say, on the whole, that it is even more important to have good reports from Italy than from France. Italy is further off and less in touch with us. The modern Italian is not much understood by us, and the Vatican imports into Italian policy a whole set of delicate and important questions. I see no reason why our man at the Vatican should not be a Protestant so long as he has fine diplomatic judgment. In Rome itself success is made up of doing a vast number of small things the right way.

Bogey looked in to say good-bye while I was dining in my rooms. He told me that Cardinal Gasparri had told de Salis that he was greatly interested by his talk with me, and said the kindest things. I sent back word that I had found the Vatican État-Major very efficient, and that I hoped that the liaison service would now work, but that I advised him to improve his École de Guerre for Nuncios.

Malagodi came in, too. Colonel Buckey came again to impress upon me the vital importance of American divisions being sent to Italy. Left Rome, 9.30 P.M., for Paris.

Sunday, Oct. 6. On my journey with prospect of two nights and a day in the train and little food or drink. At Turin we heard of the German proposal for an armistice. It provoked intense interest among the people, who crowded round every man who had a paper with the first announcement. M. Gaston Calmann-Levy, the publisher, is my travelling companion. He works at Genoa, and is in naval uniform. He and other Frenchmen not at all enthusiastic about an armistice unless the Boche quits France and Belgium. A curiously disobliging *communiqué* in the French Press to-day about Orlando's last speech, saying that it was

taken to mean that Foch had not asked the Italians to attack, and that this was a false impression. I should say that it will make the Italians rabid. It is true, but why make bad blood since it is past history now? Cavan[1] has just returned post haste from England.

[1] This day Lord Cavan was called to Italian Headquarters, and the plan of attack on the Austrians was unfolded.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE FINAL OPERATIONS AND THE ARMISTICE OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER 1918

Return to Paris—A French *Communiqué*—Talk with M. Mandel—The question of our effectives—Our Army the best offensive weapon now—Clemenceau sleeps—Visit to G.H.Q. at Gouy—General Lawrence's opinions on the situation—Our artillery successes—The German distribution—Return to London—M. Coleyn's views—Military events and President Wilson's diplomacy—The victory of the King of the Belgians east of Ypres—Progress of all the Allied Armies—Mr. Cravath on America—General Ludendorff resigns—General Allenby at Aleppo after capturing 75,000 prisoners and 340 guns—The Italo-British victory in Italy—The Austrian retreat becomes a rout—General Chetwode on the Palestine campaign—Successes of Allies and Americans—The Germans in retreat on all sides—Outlook in Germany—Hatred of the Germans in Allied countries—The Austrian Armistice conditions—A letter from Sir Charles Townshend—The Germans given seventy-two hours to accept the Armistice—The Kaiser abdicates—Armistice Day, November 11—Rejoicing in London—Severe conditions imposed—Proclamation of Marshal Foch to the Armies.

Monday, Oct. 7. Arrived Paris, 10.30 A.M. Newton King, K.M., in the train, and had much talk with him. A King's Messenger reminds me of the story of one of them who dined with de Salis at the Palazzo Borghese, and, after dinner, said, in a solemn tone, how dreadful it was to think of all the people who had been murdered in the house. De S. at sea at first and thought it a reflection on his cook, but at last realised that the K.M. had confused Borgia with Borghese.

I telephoned to our Advanced G.H.Q. and arranged to go there Wednesday. Left word at the Embassy that if Derby wanted to see me I was available. Spoke to Ian Malcolm, who is over here with L. G., Bonar Law, and Bob Cecil. In the afternoon saw M. Mandel, who will give me his first

paper to-morrow. I gave him a bit of my mind concerning the *communiqué* about Orlando yesterday, and he told me that Clemenceau had shown it to Orlando before it was published, and that the latter had admitted it was true.[1] Curiouser and curiouser! Mandel talked about Italy, and I defended the Italian standpoint, but also said that while I defended the Italians here, I defended the Foch theory in Italy. I said that I thought the Latin Sisters ought to agree because they had need of each other. Mandel said that he would arrange for me to see Clemenceau to-morrow, but I replied that I did not wish to occupy the time of such a busy man, and that I was entirely in sympathy with him and had nothing to add to my last conversation with him, unless he wished to know my views about Italy.

Spent the evening with Mrs. Leeds and we exchanged news. Later in the evening, Lady Johnstone ragged me about my recent articles relating to the failure to keep up British strengths, and said they were doing harm. I told her my mind about it; that I felt very strongly on the subject, and that there was no question in my mind of hostility to the Government, or personal feeling against any member of it. The point was that the War Cabinet were not playing the game by the Army.

It is amusing that the ' Supreme ' War Council met to-day and could do no more than adjourn until President Wilson's answer to the enemy comes to hand. The supremacy of the supreme ones is not absolute. Mandel in favour of continuing the war until Germany is harder hit. He is for the European equipoise. He says that France, with Alsace-Lorraine, will still be only forty millions, and the Boches still over sixty millions; and that if we go on, there may be further defections and changes to our advantage. I said that I was all for the balance of power. We had gone to war to preserve it, and I saw no point in making a peace that would

[1] Some weeks later I was told by an Italian diplomatist that the draft shown to Orlando was not the same as that which was published. The Italians stopped on the frontier all the French papers containing the French *communiqué*.

destroy it. Mandel also said that we were much more interested in these matters than President Wilson. I said that the only thing clever in Max of Baden's initiative was the playing up to the President. Mandel thought that an enlarged Italy would always be weak, because Italians lacked powers of organisation. They had made no Army like ours after three years of war, in spite of starting with far better military resources than the English. I said that it was the cadres that were Italy's weakness.

Tuesday, Oct. 8. M. Mandel had asked me to ring him up at 10 A.M. I found he was with Clemenceau and would be with him all the morning, so I went in search of X.'s man, Y. I had left Q. the mission of running him down during my absence in Italy, but he had made no progress. Ran him to ground.

I heard that all the Allies have attacked successfully this morning, and that the Americans were doing well on the right bank of the Meuse.

During the time that I was with Mandel yesterday, he was in constant request over the telephone from many departments. His replies were good, rapid, and concise. He seems to me the neck of the bottle for most things meant for Clemenceau, and settles most of them off-hand. People also came in to him with Press *communiqués* and leaders, and upon these also he gave his decisions.

L. G. still unregenerate about effectives, and declares that we cannot possibly keep up our divisions. He is said to be supported by General Wilson. Foch had been fobbed off by L. G. with the promise that the War Cabinet would look into the matter again, and by an undertaking that the diversion of men to Tanks and long-range bombing will be kept within limits. We have over a quarter of a million men in the Air Service already. Also, the War Cabinet have ordered that the Grand Fleet shall not be further expanded, and that all men needed for anti-U-boat war shall be found from it. We have had 700,000 casualties this year, and 220,000 of them in the course of the past two months. L. G. swears that as we have only 300,000 men to come in next year and are

likely to suffer the same casualties as this year, we cannot keep up the Army, and the divisions must be reduced. This is a very natural, but also a curiously superficial way of looking at things. We are only 40,000 infantry short in France. We may suffer 500,000 casualties up to the end of next June, including 100,000 for April, May, and June each. But we have 266,000 men of all sorts under training at home, and there are the returned wounded, *i.e.* about 50 per cent. of the casualties, and the men to come in from distant expeditions according to the policy already laid down. There are also the men to be returned from the convalescent camps in France, and of course the young class of the year. There seems to be no good reason why we should not keep up our strengths to the end of next June at all events, and within that time Foch should knock the Boche out. I fancy the War Cabinet do not realise that only two-thirds of our casualties have to be replaced from home. L. G. understands nothing of figures. I come to the conclusion that Auckland Geddes and Macready will keep up the Army with their tongues in their cheeks and let L. G. prattle on. It is a remarkable feat for Geddes that, near the end of such fighting as this year, we are only 40,000 infantry down. However, I must see what they think at G.H.Q. on all this matter.

In general, I am told that Foch is going on as long as the weather will allow him. We have made a very good advance to-day,—seven miles in places—which probably means a good bag of artillery. We have taken one quarter of the enemy's guns since July 15. The Boche moral is undoubtedly low, and we keep on taking places cheaply that we could not have looked at six months ago. Our Army is in fine form. I should say that it is certainly the best offensive weapon of all the Armies here. The French are good, but have not quite the old sting. The Americans suffered heavily in their attack between the Argonne and the Meuse. It is supposed some 100,000. None of our people know the exact figure, as our American friends do not tell them. Weygand went down to help the Americans out. Foch was then confirmed

in his old view that the Americans were not ready to fight as an Army, and should be distributed amongst the French Armies. Pershing absolutely refused, and Foch felt bound to give them another chance, as Pershing said that it would be all right next time. If they break down again, Foch *may* give an *order* to Pershing to distribute the divisions among the French, and Pershing will then have the right, under the Beauvais agreement, of appealing to his Government. But I doubt that Foch will go such lengths. We shall see. I expect that the Americans will be all right soon. They are not the only Army to get knocks at times. We have all had to buy our experience in this war.

The reduction of the Boche artillery makes our losses less serious now, and the wounds are mainly by bullet, leading to quicker recoveries. A new system of treating gas gangrene has reduced recoveries from months to weeks. On the whole, we are the mainstay of the Western front, and Foch knows it.

Reports reach me that our Ministers here are only too anxious to make peace. They met at 3 to-day in the belief that they would have President Wilson's reply, but it had not come, and President Wilson has not even consulted them! Bonar suggests the continuation of the blockade until all terms are carried out. The French wish to occupy Boche territory. But all await their master's voice!

Later saw Mandel again. He felt sure that the Americans meant to accomplish their national unity by a great feat of arms, and would never rest content while half their new Armies had not come up, and they had not won a real victory. They could not afford to figure as anything but victors, he said. I gave him my views, at his request, about the Boche and our terms.

Clemenceau had wished to see me. Mandel went in, and came back to say that he had found him asleep at his desk, absolutely *éreinté*, after making *le plus grand effort possible* before the Supreme War Council to-day. What should Mandel do? Should he wake him? I said, Certainly not. An hour's sleep for Clemenceau was of more value than any one's talk, and, besides, I could explain my views about

the Italian front and our effectives to Mandel. This I did, and also told him why I was now inclined to believe that Clemenceau need not worry about L. G.'s wails about our effectives, as I trusted that Auckland Geddes and Macready would pull us through this time. Countess Jeanne de S. dined with me. A pleasant dinner.

Wednesday, Oct. 9. Left Paris, 8.20 A.M., for Amiens. Lady V. de T.'s boy—a very nice young fellow—also there. Motored from Amiens to advanced G.H.Q. at Gouy. They are in a train—two hours' run. Found Lawrence, Curly Birch, Hugh Elles of the Tanks, Bacon (U.S.A.), Fletcher, Sassoon, and an A.D.C. A pleasant lunch. My first butter for nearly six weeks ! A good talk with Lawrence, who has got a capital railway carriage fitted up as the Chief of Staff's Office, with a good desk, table for maps, and a bed at end which takes up and down. The sides and ceiling of the carriage are all painted white inside, and, of course, the telephones are led into the carriage.

They are still very anxious about strengths, and have been told that they may have to reduce 17 divisions by next year, reducing our 60 to 43, of which 33 only from the U.K. An outrage ! and Gerville Réache wrote only this morning that we English were, as always, the men of the last quarter of an hour ! English ! Yes ! but that is just what our directing geniuses in this war never have been ! We are down 47,000 infantry to-day, but the depots and men *en route* reduce it to 31,000. I told L. why I thought things would not be so tragic as they seemed, and as L. G. was making out to us and to the French. But, of course, G.H.Q. can only go on what the War Cabinet tell them.

Haig's Despatch is now to come out, it seems, and L. says that D. H. has been most moderate and reserved, wishing not to embarrass the Government; but in justice to the Army he has to tell the truth about the strengths last spring, and the extension of the British front against his advice.

L. tells me that he has careful reports drawn up monthly upon the moral of the Army, and says that it is admirable, and that even in the worst time, last April, it remained good.

He thinks all his Army commanders are now very good, and all relations are excellent. He remains much pleased with Foch. To-day the attack continues. Byng telephones to say that he only won by one wicket yesterday, and would not have been able to get on to-day had the opposition been severe. A cavalry corps, with an infantry brigade in lorries, is making a raid to-day towards Le Cateau. A bit of a gamble, and we shall see how it fares. L. admits that he threw in his last two fresh divisions yesterday, and will only be good for one more considerable attack this year. The French in the north are to attack with Degoutte's Army in a week's time, if the weather serves. L. considers the ground east of Cambrai of most importance to us. I heard much of the great feats performed by our Armies while I was in Italy, notably the capture of the Hindenburg line, which was a glorious feat of arms, and has shattered the enemy's moral.

The Franco-American attack from the Meuse to the Suippe has not attained the desired results. Much more distant objectives were assigned than those reached, but the Americans could not cope with such a big affair, and they got into difficulties. A Reuter tells us that President Wilson has asked whether the Germans accept the terms of his fourteen points, and suggests that they should evacuate all invaded territory. L. spoke highly of Milner in his administrative capacity, and said that Du Cane had filled a most difficult post with great tact and ability. The Boche was certainly not the man of a year ago. I told him my views about Italy.

Hear that Fred Maurice has gone to the *Daily News*. The *Chronicle* has been bought by Dalziel, and Donald has left it.

Birch told me that they were now throwing 12,000 tons of shells in twenty-four hours, and that Winston deserved a good mark for helping them to do it. Our counter-battery work was now terrible, and we kept up a harassing fire all day and night on Boche communications. The whole system was now in perfect working order, and he showed me numerous German reports showing how Boche troops had been unable to carry

out their orders owing to this fire. Everything up to the 8-inch inclusive now comes on with our attacks. We have not only captured one-fourth of the Boche artilleryin France, but have a report by Ludendorff to show that 13 per cent. of the German guns in our front were actually destroyed in one month by our counter-battery fire! The Hindenburg line was a masterly piece of engineering, says Birch, but had been taken under cover of our destructive fire and barrages. L. puts down the Boche losses at 250,000 in the last two months, prisoners excluded. This is on our front alone.

Our daily distribution map of to-day's date shows a total of 195 Boche divisions on the Western front, including 8 Austro-Hungarian, and of these only 29 are marked as fit divisions, namely, 17 in the line and 12 in reserve. There are, in all, 142 in the line and 53 in reserve. The heavy Boche losses are put down to their reiterated and costly counter-attacks. One of the Boche graveyards has 4000 dead, of whom 20 per cent. are artillery. This explains the reduction of our artillery losses. Our practice *has* to be good, because photographs expose the effects, and no battery commander fails to be found out when he makes exaggerated claims. The adventure of the 46th Division, which swam the canal in life-belts brought from the leave boat, is particularly extolled at G.H.Q. The 46th's commander, Boyd, failed to get into Woolwich, and enlisted.

Elles of the Tanks is an attractive figure; an obvious enthusiast, with a fine face, good features, and deep-set eyes.

They all seem very happy at G.H.Q., and L. extols his own staff. Things are going well. There is a feeling that the public at home have not grasped the significance of the deeds of our Armies since Aug. 8, and that people in England are laying undue stress on less important matters. But the real anxiety is still about strengths next year. We have just about extracted the utmost from our Armies that they can give. The French divisions are much down, and about 20 per cent. of them are not at all good. The Americans have shown that they will take time, much time, to act successfully as Armies by themselves, and some suggest that

they ought to fight all the winter for training purpose. Happily the enemy is in much worse case than we are. Motored back to Boulogne and slept there. Crossed the Channel and returned to London on the 10th.

Saturday, Oct. 12. M. Coleyn had just been in London. A friend of mine had asked him whether the Germans would accept President's Wilson terms, and C. had said that no Government in Germany could do anything but accept them. 'Then the military situation must be even worse than we know?' he was asked. 'You must form your own conclusions,' replied C. We seem rather short of good negotiators on our side at the Peace Conference, but Crowe, Mallet, and Tyrrell are going from the F.O. They joined the F.O. between 1885 and 1893, and, with Carnock and Bertie, were the head and front of the anti-German party all along, vexed at our surrenders to Germany, and persuaded that Germany planned our ruin. Between them they made the German peril the central feature of our foreign policy.

The military situation remains good. We are at Le Cateau and approaching Douai. Mangin and Gouraud are advancing. The Boches are evacuating the Chemin des Dames. The Franco-Americans have cleared the Southern Argonne. There is an almost general Boche retreat. We Allies have captured nearly 300,000 prisoners and 4200 guns in this campaign between us, and signs of Boche demoralisation multiply.

Politically, President Wilson, on Oct. 8, asked the Germans, who had applied to him for an armistice, whether they spoke for the people who had been conducting the war; whether they accepted the fourteen points of his speech of last Jan. 8 and only wished to discuss details of them; and whether they would evacuate all invaded territories as a proof of goodwill.

Sunday, Oct. 13. The wonderful news reaches us that the Germans have accepted all Wilson's conditions and have asked for a commission to arrange details of the evacuation. I write an article on the surrender, and send in two articles on my Italian experiences. There has been no mention for

a week or more of the Kaiser or the Crown Prince. Max of Baden is Chancellor, with a quasi-parliamentary Cabinet which includes the Left. The reply was sent to Wilson after a meeting of the various kings and princes of the Empire. Solf signs the reply, which is dated yesterday. Coleyn was right, and something more than we know must have happened in Germany. All faces glad in London, and people feel that it is the beginning of the end. The main difficulty will be the guarantees and reparations which we Allies are bound to demand. If Germany is not to be invaded and is to be allowed to withdraw her troops and plant in peace, and escape the worst consequences of defeat, then she must pay for these advantages. That is the purport of my article. The remembrance that Haig had put in his two last fresh divisions on the 8th forbids me to oppose the Armistice.

Wednesday, Oct. 16. Parliament reassembled yesterday. In the morning, yesterday, there came Wilson's reply to Solf. It contains three points. Firstly, that Germany must cease her inhumane practices on land and sea; secondly, that the military authorities will settle details and guarantees of evacuation and armistice; and, thirdly, that autocratic rule must end. The door is still open, unless the Boches close it.

Yesterday, also, the British 2nd Army under Plumer, the Belgians, and a French Army under Degoutte, beat the enemy east of Ypres and penetrated to Roulers, Menin, and nearly to Courtrai: 12,000 prisoners and some 200 guns taken. The King of the Belgians in charge. A very good day. The Germans are leaving the Flanders coast and sending away their heavy guns. Saw various people, including Sir E. Carson and Gwynne. Carson says that no date is fixed for the Election, and nothing decided. He had read my article on the Peace correspondence, and had approved of it. I had an article in to-day on the Flanders fight. We seem to be doing nothing politically until the correspondence ends one way or another. The last Wilson note is very indigestible for the Boches. Called on Lady Forrest, who gave me all her news of affairs in Australia. In touch with various people, and hear what news there is.

I must put down Major Paine's observation at Boulogne, namely, that those who travel abroad for pleasure in war time would travel to hell for pastime.

Friday, Oct. 18. Yesterday our attack in Flanders penetrated to Ostend and the gates of Bruges. The Germans in Lille evacuated it in the night of the 16th-17th, and our men of Birdwood's 5th Army occupied the town amidst wild rejoicing. The King of the Belgians and Roger Keyes land at Ostend. There are 120,000 people still in Lille, but all the males over fifteen have been taken away by the Huns. Much palavering in Berlin, but no answer to Wilson yet. This affair in Flanders will not make their case more gaudy. The Boches in retreat in most parts of France. Rawly gave them another push on a nine-mile front south-east of Le Cateau yesterday and took 4000 of them prisoners. The American 1st Army have had some hard fighting east of the Argonne, and have worked through to Grand Pré. They have been at it since Sept. 26, and, I fear, have suffered much owing to weather, few roads, and strong opposition. I read in the Russian wireless that German troops in Russia have hoisted the red flag and shot their officers.

Write an article on the general situation. Later, I hear that the Americans have lost 150,000 men in the last three weeks' fighting.

Allenby has overrun Syria and is at Homs, half-way between Damascus and Aleppo.

Saturday, Oct. 19. All the news continues good. Lunched with Lady Paget, the Droghedas, Lord Ivor Churchill, and Colonel Griscom, at the Ritz. A merry party. Lady P. drove me to the Dowager Lady Londonderry's house, and I had a good talk with her of our last two months' experiences.

Sunday, Oct. 20. The 27th and 30th American Divisions acting with Rawly have taken part during the last three weeks in three important battles and many minor actions. They have taken 5000 prisoners and many guns. We are clearing up in the north, and all goes well. Went to see Lady Beresford, who is laid up with a sprained ankle. The Admiral and Edmund Gosse there. Both interesting.

Monday to Friday, Oct. 21-25. We keep on gaining ground between the Scheldt and the Sambre. Western Flanders is freed up to the Dutch frontier. The French 1st Army drive the enemy on the Oise to eastward of the river, and their 10th Army breaks the Hindenburg line. The German reply of Oct. 21 to America consists mainly of denials of inhumane practices, and protestations that the German Government has become quite democratic. It is somewhat evasive about an armistice, but leaves it to the President to settle the details. Theresa Lady Londonderry lunched with me at the Ritz, Oct. 21, and Mrs. Ronny Greville, Oct. 22. Both ladies first-rate company and posted me up in all the London news during my absence. I dined with the Carnarvons at 48 Bryanston Square on the 23rd, meeting Lady Robertson, the Arthur Portmans, General and Mrs. Hutchison, Sir Marshall Hall, and some others. Hutch. told me that we could keep up our numbers if the War Cabinet liked. He had been ordered to recall 33,000 A men (miners) from France, and had refused. The reason why we were short of coal, he declared, was that the 80 per cent. excess-profits' tax prevented mine managers from producing more than enough to pay their dividends or minimum rents. They employed their men in opening up pits and getting ready to exploit them later. If mines were allowed to produce more coal untaxed, they could do it, but it was not reasonable to expect them to exhaust their capital, *i.e.* their best seams, when 80 per cent. of their profits would go to the Government. On Oct. 19, twenty-four days after the launching of the Salonika offensive, Allied troops reach the Danube at Widdin. On Oct. 22 I wrote in the *Post* my ideas of what we need for security at the Peace. Haig's Despatch of July 20 comes out this week, apparently bowdlerised, but the Censor forbids me to suggest it. It is a great story and does justice to the Army.

In the afternoon of Thursday, Oct. 24, there comes out an uncompromising reply from President Wilson to Germany, the operative part of which is that he will suggest an armistice to the Allies. But he tells the Germans, bluntly,

that they cannot be trusted, and that he will not deal with military autocrats, and will insist on such guarantees before an armistice is granted that the Germans will be unable to continue the war. It is an extremely harsh document, and no nation has ever been addressed in such severe terms since the time of Napoleon. However, the Boches can now take it or leave it, after our naval and military people have fixed the character of the guarantees. Opinion much divided about what the Boche will do.

On Friday, 25th, I lunched with Sir W. and Lady Robertson at York House, and he and I had a good chat. He says that he has practically no troops for home defence now, and that he has fully represented the situation, and the War Cabinet accept the responsibility in the belief that the enemy has no troops to spare. The Navy continue to declare, officially, that they cannot guarantee to stop a landing. I told R. of my experiences abroad. We had both heard the report that Haig, who has just been over here, had taken the line at the War Cabinet that the Government should say what they could do for our Armies, and that if they could not, or would not, do much, they should stop the war. We discussed the happy change in the fortune of war, and its cause. The real cause of the Allied recovery was the arrival of over 2,000,000 fresh Allied troops in France between March and October. Would the public and would history ever understand these elementary facts, we wondered? R. and I agreed that the best thing about the war in France was that the War Cabinet had now practically nothing to do with it. The War Cabinet even complain that they are not told in advance of the great battles. Why should they be? They only run about and prattle.

Saturday to Monday, Oct. 26-28. Down to Polesden-Lacey in the afternoon and found Mr. Cravath, Sir Ronald and Lady Graham, Lady Ancaster, Sir Seymour Fortescue, Lord Cochrane, Jack FitzGerald (the Knight of Kerry), Sonia Keppel, Sir Hedworth and Lady Meux, Mr. Massingham, and young Hermon of the Coldstreams. Lovely weather: a real St. Luke's summer, and the autumn tints gorgeous.

A cheerful party. I walked on Sunday morning with Cravath, and we had a good talk over affairs in France and America. He tells me that the President has no intention of interfering in Russian domestic affairs, and was only induced to intervene in Siberia in order to save the Czech forces. This is serious, for it means a Bolshevist Russia open to German intrigue and exploitation after the war, and no real balance of power. As, moreover, we are helping to break up Austria, where a regular rot is setting in, it is obvious that we Western Allies must make hard terms, and especially must have a strong frontier on the Alps and the Rhine, as Rome had of old. I told Cravath that Mr. George Creel's account of German-Bolshevist intrigues appeared to me a little dubious, and gave my reason for suspecting some of the documents. Creel is head of the Information and Propaganda Service in America. Cravath apparently believes all the story, but Ronald Graham admitted that the F.O. did not, and the Americans seem displeased because we do not swallow the story.

Cravath has heard much criticism of the American Staff arrangements in the Argonne battle, and I told him all that I knew about it. He tells us that the American Treasury, under McAdoo, is manned by Wall Street men who have given proofs of competence, and that some of the chief men are his partners and friends. He spoke highly of Davis, the new Ambassador in London, but thinks that as it costs £8000 a year to live here, he may not stay long. Cravath wants business men to run the great business machine on the American lines of communication in France, but says that the American soldiers will not have them. He does not think that American opinion is bothering much about Ireland. During his recent trip to the U.S. he found America united for pressing on the war. He was interesting about Colonel House, who is now back again in Paris, and thinks his position largely due to the fact that he does not seek to exploit his great influence with the President. We discussed numbers and operations, and I gave him my views of the arguments which Bonar Law had given him about our strengths.

Graham told me that the F.O. had been compelled by events to adopt its present attitude towards Austria, and I am not sure whether he likes it more than I do. Lady Meux in good form in spite of a shocking cold. She impressed upon me at dinner one night the efficacy of prayer. The young men of the party very pleasant, and Miss Sonia had a great time.

Tuesday, Oct. 29. All the Allied Civil and Military Chiefs are at Paris to settle terms of peace and guarantees to be demanded before an armistice is given. All goes well in the field. Ludendorff has resigned. Allenby is in Aleppo. He has covered 300 miles in 47 days, and has taken 75,000 prisoners and 340 guns. In Serbia things continue to go well. We gain ground slowly along the line in France, but the enemy resists strenuously, from political motives. Weather continues fair and mild, but it can scarcely remain so much longer. Lunched with E., who sees much of the Georgian Press confraternity, who all live near each other in the Leatherhead district. She has defended me, she says, very warmly in this quarter. I expect that I need it.

In the evening went to the 1900 Club to hear Gwynne give an address on 'The Future of Parties.' Interesting, and a good debate. The Tory M.P.s present all spoke openly.

Wednesday, Oct. 30. In the evening dined with Mrs. Burton at 40 Hertford Street; Lady Sarah, Lady Bingham, Lady de Trafford, Lord Lurgan, Sir Fritz Ponsonby, and Murray-Graham. Much talk of peace terms, of Turkey giving in, and of the want of hotels for officers on leave.

Thursday, Oct. 31. Great news to-day. The Italians, who have been attacking on their whole front since Oct. 25, have thrown the enemy back and taken 40,000 prisoners. An attack by Cavan's Army, and especially by the British 14th Army Corps of the 7th and 23rd Divisions, under Babington, was very successful, and served as a spearhead. The Austrians have now asked for an armistice, and have offered to evacuate Italy. There comes, also, the even

greater news of the surrender of Turkey, who has agreed to our terms, which include the surrender of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. A historic event of great importance. The military failure of Germany has brought all her coalition down about her ears. Lunched with Mrs. Astor, Lady Juliet Duff, Mrs. Bridges, Wolkoff, and General Brancker. Juliet vexed with me for my remarks about the I.A.F. Brancker admits that Trenchard was not in favour of the great, new, long-range bombing programme. The latter will be late, as our latest great type has developed teething trouble, and so we have not 'done-in' Berlin yet. We had a great day in France yesterday, downing 69 Boche planes. All very pleased with the great news about Austria and Turkey. Various accounts of our terms for Germany, but nothing definite. I find that General Pershing is the subject of much unjust and ignorant criticism just now, and I have constantly to take up the cudgels for him.

Friday, Nov. 1. The Austrian retreat has degenerated into a rout. Austria and Hungary, as well as other parts of the late dual Monarchy, are in revolution, and the whole State has collapsed. Difficult to know with whom or with what to treat. Allenby gets a G.C.B. and a nice telegram from the King, which he richly deserves. The terms of the Armistice with Turkey are announced. They are quite satisfactory, and include all necessary safeguards. The Turkish Army to be demobilised, Batoum and Baku to be occupied by us, all Germans and Austrians to be deported, Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers, and of course the Straits forts to be occupied by us, and all war vessels to be surrendered. Hostilities to cease at noon, local time, yesterday.

Tribunal in afternoon. One claimant for exemption was at Handley-Page's place, and told us that the first big Berlin bomber failed, but that six were due this month, and 50 were on order : two or three were already successes. We allowed his exemption, with a warning to hurry up.

Saturday to Monday, Nov. 2-4. Wrote an article for Monday and went down to Coombe in the afternoon.

Beastly weather. Besides the host and hostess, there came down Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode, Mr. Cravath, Captain Lyall, Professor Sir Dennison Ross, General Sir W. and Lady Pulteney, Lord and Lady Esmé Gordon-Lennox, Mr. and Mrs. McKenna, Lady Bingham, Mrs. Burton, Lady Drogheda, and a few more. Chetwode very interesting about Palestine. He says that Colonel Lawrence, the British Museum man who has been with the Arabs all the time, is a romantic character. He looks quite a youth. He has been made an Emir by the Arabs, who have great faith in him and will follow him anywhere. He has come back to see about the Arab frontiers. It seems that the Mark Sykes-Picot arrangement will not wash. It gives to the French something that we promised to the Arabs. So Lawrence refuses honours offered to him. Our frontier is apparently to run east and west through Haifa. The French get Syria. The Arabs all east of the Jordan and up to Aleppo. The trace of the frontiers is difficult for the Arabs to understand. Allenby very short with Picot. The latter told him on arriving in Jerusalem that he was going to establish a civil administration, police, etc. Allenby replied that he would do nothing of the sort, as there was martial law and the British were in charge.

Chetwode told us much of the campaign, and was very interesting. The Army is all Indianised now, and the younger Indian troops have done well; even the young native officers showing initiative. The new Indian troops are being accustomed to walk behind real shell barrages on the practice grounds. C. thinks Allenby as good a diplomat as general. He told us some stories of the correspondence between the King of the Hedjaz and Allenby. In one letter the King told A. that he was 'longing to kiss his intelligent forehead.' The Arab bureau replies in similar high falutin! It is true that the King gets £250,000 a month in gold. The sailors who took it over found the Arabs glad to part with one pound for ten shillings' worth of silver, which is more useful currency, and the sailors did some good business till the practice was found out. We have seven in-

fantry and four mounted divisions in the Army. C. thinks that two mounted and one or two infantry divisions can hold the country now, but what will be done with the rest no one knows yet. The mounted troops, R.A.F., and armoured motor cars have been extremely efficient. The planes have played the devil with the Turks in retreat, and have quite broken them up. Our Mohammedan troops have fought well against the Turks, though the latter have often come at night to chant the Koran round the camps. A few deserters from our natives, but not many, and mainly because the deserters thought that the Pathan country was just across the Jordan. The Turks desert freely. They have used no gas against us, so we have not fired our gas shells. Turkish warfare is gentlemanly compared with the Boche.

Several talks with Cravath. He thinks that if the President comes to Europe he will lose the power of talking to the people over the heads of the statesmen, and that it will be a disadvantage for him. Cravath himself thinks that we all ought to share in putting Russia right, but doubts that Wilson will. He doubts that the President will back either us or the French in measures of rigour against the Boche. He says that the Americans know the quarter in London whence emanate the criticisms of the President and of Pershing. So do I.

Lord Esmé still much crippled by his shell wound. Lady Esmé's brother, Reggie Fellowes, back from Germany where he has been in durance since the war began. He thinks that the Boches will make peace. A story that Clemenceau said of the President, 'Il m'agace avec ses quatorze commandements quand le bon Dieu n'avait que dix'! I also liked the story of the Syrian who wrote to Allenby, 'Your petitioner is a bubble on the sands of time; the bubble is about to burst, leaving one wife and one small child totally unprovided for'!

Returned with Cravath, Monday morning. He is at Sunderland House. Good news from the fronts. The Italians have taken 100,000 prisoners and 3000 guns. They have occupied Trent, Udine, and Trieste. The Austrian retreat is a *sauve qui peut*. What a transformation in a fort-

night and how different from the situation when I was in Italy! I assume that disintegration had set in from the rear, and that all the various Austrian races are only thinking of trekking for home.[1] In France Gouraud and Pershing have got on well and made a 12-mile advance. We are on all the Scheldt line, and to-day the whole front east of the Scheldt is attacking. We are in Valenciennes. No news yet of our occupation of the Straits. Versailles very silent. Cravath told me about the trouble regarding the American divisions some time back, referred to in a speech by Major Astor last Saturday. Ten American divisions came to our front. Foch took away five, as they were not needed. Haig made his plans for his operations, counting on the remaining five. But so did Pershing, and, after consultation with Haig, took away three. Some silly people have been howling about Pershing ever since. I do not know why they should.

Tuesday, Nov. 5. Yesterday our 1st, 3rd, and 4th Armies attacked in the Scheldt-Sambre gap with about 13 divisions in front line, penetrated several miles into the German positions and the Mormal Forest, and took 14,000 prisoners and over 200 guns. A very fine stroke. Landrecies was captured, and Le Quesnoy, a walled town, surrounded, and all the Boche garrison captured. Debeney attacked on our right, made progress, and took 3000 prisoners. On the rest of the French front there is evidence of a German retreat. The same on the American front, where, in three days, the Yankees have got on 12 miles on an 18-mile front, and are across the Meuse.

L. G. announces the conditions of the Austrian Armistice in the H. of C. We are to occupy certain strategic points, to have the use of all railways, etc., and only 20 divisions of troops are to be kept under arms. The Austrians agree to surrender a lot of warships, including 3 battleships, 15 submarines of their own, and all the Boche U-boats in their

[1] This was correct. We learned later that troops had refused to obey on Oct. 21, and that Poles, Jugo-Slavs, and Czechs had all demanded to be sent home.

ports. Several other conditions—all pretty good. L. G. announces that Foch is to have control of strategy on all fronts during the last stage of the war. He also says that the Allies are agreed on armistice conditions for Germany, have sent them to President Wilson, and have informed him that the Boches will have to come to Foch's H.Q. for them.

It is generally believed that the Boches will accept them, but as the conditions are not known, no one among the public can say for certain. Met the Duke of Connaught at Olive's to-day at tea. He says that Lionel Earle goes to Paris to-morrow to make preparations for a conference, which we assume to mean the Peace Conference, as Ministers are all now back from the late meeting. Evidently it must be thought that the Boches will give in.

There is certainly a general expectation of peace. The surrender of Germany's three Allies is a terrible blow to the Boche. Their own military defeat and the improbability of any advantageous change of fortune depress them to the depths, while internally all is disquiet, suffering, and distress. They have lost the war, and the people know it at last. They are cowed by the severity and harshness of President Wilson's language, and recognise themselves to be the pariahs of the world. All the Left parties are against the ruling caste. This caste regards surrender with bitter and burning anger, but can see no way out, and only unconditional surrender in prospect if the war goes on. The outlook is very black for them, and they can judge from the Armistice conditions given to their Allies how harsh their own will be. They have an enormous weight of debt to bear in future, with food and raw materials at their lowest ebb, and the chance of having to find a thousand millions sterling to repay damages done in France, and at least half as much to pay to Belgium.

In the Allied countries the brutalities of Germany throughout the war have destroyed all sense of compassion for the beaten enemy. The vile and unchivalrous manner in which Germany has fought has roused a consuming fire of hatred which seeks revenge and reparations. The harsher the terms the better will public opinion be pleased. Sheridan's plea

that the vanquished should only be left their eyes to weep with corresponds with the fierce burning hate aroused in England, France, and Belgium. The Americans are almost as fierce, and utterly against compromise until the German power is entirely extinguished and autocracy overthrown. We have most of us lost by custom the capacity for surprise, joy, or sorrow. A dead, numb, implacable feeling of seeing the thing through fills all minds. There has been not a flag raised, nor a bell rung, for all the victories of these past four months, unequalled though they be. The feeling is so strong that most people have shut it up in their own hearts and give little open expression to it. The thousands of casualties which fill the papers daily shut out all pity for the vile enemy. The murders, lootings, crimes of every sort, the memory of the *Lusitania*, of Nurse Cavell and Captain Fryatt, of the poison gas and the ill treatment of our prisoners, are never out of our minds, and a terrible retribution is in store for Germany. The cold and terrible implacability of the English is the deadliest hate of all. This is the frame of mind in which we approach the end of this bloody, prolonged, and horrible war. *Væ victis!*

Wednesday, Nov. 6. The text of the Austrian Armistice conditions shows that it is nearly unconditional surrender. I am particularly pleased that the enemy has to evacuate the Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass. Thereby Italy secures her real military frontier in the Alps, and I hope may be allowed to maintain it at the Peace. She also gets Istria and Pola, at least *pro tem.* All the naval and military conditions are effective, if executed. Will they be? We shall see.

A despatch from President Wilson to Germany, via the Swiss Government, dated yesterday, refers to his note of Oct. 23, and says that he has received a memorandum from the Allies, who declare their readiness to make peace with Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's Address to Congress of Jan. 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent ad-

dresses. But they make two qualifications: firstly, that the President's reference to the Freedom of the Seas is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept, and therefore they reserve to themselves complete freedom on the subject when they enter the Peace Conference; and, secondly, that compensation must be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, or from the air. The President expresses his agreement with this latter point. He further notifies that Foch is authorised by the U.S. and Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government, and to communicate to them the terms of the Armistice.

A rumour in London that the German delegation has left Berlin for the Western front. Dined with Lord and Lady Wolverton at 36 St. James's Place—a pleasant house done up in Louis XIV. style and extremely comfortable. Also a good cook. Found Sir Fritz Ponsonby, Cyril Hankey, Lord and Lady Ancaster, and Bobbie Ward. An interesting dinner. Much talk of all the great and bewildering events happening round us.

Thursday, Nov. 7. The following letter from Major-General Sir Charles Townshend reached me this morning:

In the Train between Paris and Rome,
9.30 A.M., 28*th October* 1918.

My dear Repington,—I reach Paris at 11 A.M., and I am going to see General Foch if I can. I know him well, you know. I reach London Friday or Saturday, and I shall be so glad to see you again. What do you think of my coup in advising the Turks to make peace? I initiated the whole thing with Izzat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, telling him that Turkey was done, that if any terms could be got, it would be now; to-morrow might be too late. The Turks had treated me so honourably that I would be willing to do all I could, but my absolute freedom and the freedom of British and Indian prisoners was my condition. I left the Sublime Porte that afternoon, 17th October, a free man, and left

at daylight next morning in a steamer yacht for Smyrna secretly, as they did not want the Germans to find out. I told Izzat he would have to agree to opening the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and he said he was prepared to do this. I reached Smyrna by special train, 19th October, and found all Smyrna lining the streets and cheering for 'Peace' as I drove through the streets with the Governor in his motor car. There was no secrecy whatever, and my departure, I find, was announced in all the Turkish papers in Constantinople the next day! Imagine Bernstorff's face! I reached Mitylene at 3 A.M. on 20th October '18 in a tug, passing through the Turkish minefield at night; such was my impatience to be under the British flag again, and how the crews of the destroyer and the monitor at Mitylene cheered me as I went on board the destroyer *Forester*. I sent a long wire to the F.O. from Mitylene, and then proceeded to the fleet at Mudros, reaching there at 3 P.M., 20th October, and was a guest of the Admiral. I took a Turkish naval officer with me, and he was sent back at once to Smyrna to fetch the Turkish delegates. So you see, my dear Repington, I have done what I was sent to Mesopotamia with my *poignée d'hommes* to do, but by diplomacy—at the same time dealing a heavy blow to Germany and Austria, namely, the loss of Turkey and the Dardanelles-Gallipoli and Bosphorus Straits, while we automatically capture the 20,000 Germans at Constantinople and Tchatalgah, just as Junot, with his 14,000 men, was bottled at Lisbon in 1809. To bottle the Black Sea Fleet in Sebastopol is now too easy—they will never fight a battle in the open. This stroke also frees our armies in Syria and Irak from a secondary theatre to add to the *masse principale* in the Principal Theatre. The Turkish Government sent me word by Raouf Bey at the Conference that they hoped greatly I would come back as Ambassador, but of course that, I told them, is not my pigeon; some F.O. diplomatist will come. Izzat Pasha also said he hoped I would return as 'You know us, and we have absolute confidence in you.' But all I ask is to be given a chance on the Western or other front to regain my cruel loss of two years' service due to no fault of mine, God knows, and all the world knows, during which time all my juniors have been promoted Lieut.-General over my head, and I feel this very bitterly. As soon as I reach London I will let you know, and you must dine with me. I will be so glad, old chap, to shake your hand again. I am very fit. I told you, I think, of my famous

swim across the Halka Channel in forty minutes in a rough sea—1¼ miles, so I 'm all right !—Always yours,

CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

Wrote about Townshend, and Allenby's Despatch, which is out to-day, bringing out how well the latter and his Staff had done after the pick of his troops had been taken away to France, and how finely India had seen him through. In the afternoon went to the F.O. Tyrrell, Eyre Crowe, and Mallet are to attend the Peace Conference—a good team.

The rumour spread over the town to-day that the Armistice was signed. Ernest Cunard had it from what he termed a German house in the city, and Reuter also published it. Not true, and it was materially impossible. By 4 P.M. no Boches had reached Foch's H.Q. I am amused to hear that the F.O. has not been made officially cognisant of the Armistice terms. It is thought by wise folk that the Republican majority in the Congressional Elections will make our Ministers statesmen, because they will no longer fear Wilson. The said wise folk regard the Republican majority as a godsend.

I hear from Rocke at Rome that my Italian articles have been quoted at full length in all the Italian papers, and have done much good. Rocke's wife has been very ill. Dined with Lady Sarah; Sir Godfrey and Lady Paine, Lady de Ramsey and her son Mr. Fellowes (just back from four years' internment in Germany), General Brancker, Mrs. Astor, Ernest Cunard, and Mrs. Greville. A pleasant evening. Paine says that if the R.A.F. only get five millions a year voted at the Peace, they will only be able to keep up one squadron! I think that he would like fifty millions. I told him that the only chance of retaining the R.A.F. was to commercialise it. Fellowes interesting on his experiences. He is confident that the Germans will give in. Lately the Germans stole half the food sent him, but he could not grudge it as they were so hard set. He thinks that the influenza acting on the German constitutions undermined by bad food has had a marked effect in bringing about the

demand for peace. Lady de Ramsey told me that the Germans had never delivered her telegrams to Lord de R., who was in Germany in 1914, asking him to return at once, so he and his son had been caught. For eighteen months the Germans had detained Lord de R., who is old and blind, and had deprived him of his servant.

Friday, Nov. 8. Last night Erzberger and the other German delegates crossed the French lines, and then received the Armistice conditions from Foch this morning. They are allowed 72 hours in which to give their answer, and have despatched a courier with the terms to Spa, which is apparently the German G.H.Q. now. Foch has refused the German request to suspend hostilities at once. The 72 hours expire at 11 A.M., Monday next, French time. Meantime the British and French are advancing, and the Americans are in Sedan. The eviction of the Germans from France is almost complete. The Bavarians are reported to have entered the Tyrol from the north. Both Tyrol and Vorarlberg want to set up for themselves. The Italians are north of Bolsana (Botzen), and it may be a race for the Brenner Pass. I have written an article every day this week on all these great events, and for to-morrow have reminded people of Mommsen's ideas on the Caudine Forks affair, *i.e.* that no Power can be held to a disgraceful peace.

Dined with Lord and Lady Ancaster; Lady Ridley, Lord and Lady Wolverton, Lady Dalhousie, and Hankey. The Ancasters have bought Eresby House in Rutland Gate—a fine large building about 1760, with a great Renaissance ballroom and other rooms most un-Londonny. Quite a charm of its own, and very attractive. Most of the talk about the coming meeting of the Unionists before the Election. Wolverton, who has steadily subscribed £1000 a year to the party funds, inclined to ask what has been done with it. A good dinner. Lady Ridley, as ever, with a very shrewd judgment on our affairs. I have never met Lady Dalhousie before: she is Ancaster's sister, and is intelligent and attractive, with pleasant manners.

Saturday, Nov. 9. To-day came the news that the Kaiser

had abdicated and that the Crown Prince had renounced the throne of the German Empire and of Prussia. A Regency is to be set up. Ebert, Chairman of the Socialist Party since Bebel's death, nominated 'Imperial Chancellor.' A Bill to be brought in for General Suffrage and for a Constitutional German National Assembly, 'which will settle finally the future form of Government of the German nation or of those people which might be desirous of coming within the Empire.' So runs Max of Baden's decree. Thus perishes autocracy, drowned in blood. London more interested to-day in a great Lord Mayor's show, and in visiting the captured German guns in the Mall, than in the Kaiser's fate. The news of the signing of the Armistice hopefully but anxiously awaited. The Delegates communicating with Spa by courier. Much confusion on the roads and much firing delays his movements. The German Armies in general retreat. The Guards have taken Maubeuge, and the French are near Hirson. The Scheldt crossed in several places by the British and Belgians. All the news from Germany is of revolt at many great towns, including Kiel and all the war ports. The whole machine of Army, Navy, and Government looks like breaking up, but, on the whole, bloodlessly.

In the afternoon went to see Doris Keane in her new comedy, but left after the first act to welcome General Townshend and his wife, who reached Victoria, 3.31 P.M. He was looking brown, and much older and very thin, but, on the whole, well. Lord and Lady Beresford drove them off in their motor. Many other friends present to greet them.

Sunday, Nov. 10. Nothing more of a definite character about the Armistice. Lunched with the Beresfords and met the Townshends and Sir Edward Carson. Townshend told us a lot more about his experiences, and we walked back to his hotel together, and I had some more details from him. I have put it all in an unsigned article for the *M.P.* to-morrow, and also wrote another article of the negotiations, if one can so call them. Carson in great form and inclined

to think that L. G.'s place in history may be higher than we thought, when all his difficulties are considered. Carson is anxious about the red feeling on the Clyde and in the north, and is convinced that we must see all our demobilised men through the first difficult times till they get employment, no matter what it costs. He is in favour of a General Election. He declares that he believes in the venerable adage, 'Si vis pacem,' etc.

Monday, Nov. 11. *Armistice Day.* A great day. The Kaiser has not only abdicated but has taken flight to Holland, deserting his Armies of over 3,000,000 men. A more or less bloodless revolution is in full swing throughout Germany, and all the kings and princes of the German Empire are toppling down one after another. We learned also early to-day that the German Delegation had signed the Armistice conditions at 5 A.M. this morning and that hostilities would cease at 11 A.M. to-day. At 11 A.M. the maroons sent their well-known warning, and then the guns and bells began over all London, flags appeared everywhere, huge crowds filled the streets, and there was much rejoicing and happiness on all faces. In Parliament L. G. read out the Armistice conditions, which are severe. The Germans have to evacuate all invaded territory and to be 10 kils. east of the Rhine within 31 days. We are to occupy all the left bank and the towns of Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, with a radius of 30 kils. on the east bank. The enemy is to hand over 5000 guns, 30,000 machine guns, 3000 minenwerfer, and 2000 aeroplanes. He is to pay for the occupation by our troops. All our prisoners are to be returned at once. He has to give up all specie, stock, and paper money stolen. He has to surrender all submarines, including mine-layers; and those unable to leave port are to be under our supervision. Six battle cruisers, 10 battleships, 8 light cruisers, and 50 destroyers are to be disarmed and interned in a neutral or Allied port, and all other service ships to be paid off, disarmed, and placed under our supervision. We have the right to occupy Heligoland and enforce these naval conditions if

they are not carried out. All Russian warships are to be handed over to us: 5000 locomotives, 150,000 wagons, and 6000 motor wagons, in good working order, to be handed over to us within the period fixed for evacuation. We may occupy all the German forts and batteries at the entrance to the Kattegat and the Baltic. The fault in the conditions is the failure to insist upon a German demobilisation.

Lunched with Mrs. Greville; Mrs. Keppel, Mr. Pringle, M.P., Lady Kitty Somerset, Fox McDonnell, Mr. Birrell, and Lord Farquhar. All in great spirits and very happy. Pringle thinks that there will not be more than 100 independent members after L. G.'s coming Khaki Election. We went up to see the drawing-room floor which the old Lord Craven fitted with the priceless Louis XIV. *boiserie* some 60 years ago. It is of great beauty, very perfect in taste and design. Later, went down for a chat with Sir W. Robertson, with whom I discussed all these great events of the past fortnight. R. said that it had been shown that the collapse of the Armies of armed nations meant the collapse of the nations themselves.

Tuesday, Nov. 12. The rejoicings continue, and London still beflagged. A Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's. Lunched with Olive, Lady Hope, and Bridget, and dined with the Arthur Robertses and Joan Wodehouse. Went to the Coliseum—a gay and joyful audience. Townshend in a box, again acclaimed heartily. All the German thrones and thronelets are falling like ninepins. The Kaiser and Crown Prince having bolted to Holland, all the minor princes of his late Empire are off their thrones, and all quietly enough, without fuss or resistance. Dined with the Scarbroughs: Lord Peel, Lady Sarah, Sir George and Lady Holford, Fox McDonnell, and Lady de Trafford. After dinner, it was thought that the Tories could be quite satisfied with L. G.'s written assurances to Bonar Law read out to them. So are the Coalition Liberals with L. G.'s assurances to them. Labour alone recalcitrant, and orders its men out of the

Coalition. Some of the party went on to Lady Randolph's concert. Here is the French text of Foch's Proclamation to the Allied Armies:

PROCLAMATION

DU MARÉCHAL FOCH

Commandant en chef des armées alliées

G.Q.G.A., *le* 12 *Novembre* 1918.

Officiers, sous-officiers, soldats
des armées alliées

Après avoir résolument arrêté l'ennemi, vous l'avez, pendant des mois, avec une foi et une énergie inlassables, attaqué sans répit.

Vous avez gagné la plus grande bataille de l'Histoire et sauvé la cause la plus sacrée : la Liberté du monde.

Soyez fiers !

D'une gloire immortelle vous avez paré vos drapeaux.

La postérité vous garde sa reconnaissance.

Le maréchal de France,
Commandant en chef des armées alliées :

FOCH.

CHAPTER XL

THE PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919

The rejoicings continue—The history of the Police Strike—The Allies begin their march to the Rhine—Enthusiastic reception of M. Clemenceau and Marshal Foch in London—Facts about American divisions and strengths in France this year—Hearty reception of F.M. Sir Douglas Haig and his Army Commanders in London—A courteous letter from Sir Auckland Geddes—Huge majority for the Coalition at the General Election—The Peace Conference assembles in Paris—Troubles in the Army the result of strain—The Lord Chancellor and the Dean of Durham—The King reviews the young troops—Some good stories at Sir E. Cassel's house—Parties and gossip—Lord Dalmeny on Allenby—Death of the Dowager Lady Londonderry—Haig and Robertson change places—The march of the Guards through London—Secrecy in Paris—Mr. Lloyd George attacks Lord Northcliffe—Visit to Beaconsfield—Mr. Laughlin's experiences—Visits to Easthampstead Park—Our maritime losses—Death of Lady Paget—Visit to the Rhine—Situation of our Army on the Rhine—Return to Paris—A talk with Marshals Foch and Pétain—Their dissatisfaction with the Conference—Count Sobanski on Poland—A conversation with General Pershing—Peace with Germany signed at Versailles, June 28.

Saturday, Nov. 16. The rejoicings continue, and London still covered with flags. A strange absence of news from the Armies, but the German retreat has begun, and our advance after them begins to-morrow. On Thursday had tea with Mrs. Greville, who has been asked to subscribe to both party funds, and has refused both! Stayed gossiping late. On Friday lunched with the Ian Hamiltons, and met Mr. Sheldon S. Crosby, of the U.S. Embassy, who was interesting on the subject of the future after the war, believing that we should make a Nineteenth Century Peace because we were not advanced enough to accept an International Army and Navy. He disbelieves in disarmament and the League

of Nations, but thinks that the latter will some day come from the submerged tenth, and the International Force, too. A good speaker and actor. General Ellison there. I asked him to jot down for me his ideas on the future of Army Organisation. Robertson has sent me his, and I am writing to Monro to know his views from the Indian standpoint. Crowds to see the German guns in the Mall. I took Letty to see them. Two continuous lines of guns each side all the way down, and half up Constitution Hill. All calibres. The saddest sight was two blind Australian soldiers brought up by their pals to *feel* the guns which they had captured. They felt them and patted them all over. Such fine fellows too!

Sunday, Nov. 17. Wrote on the economic and food situation of Germany. Had tea with Freddy Wodehouse to hear the inner history of the Police Strike which occurred early in September while I was abroad, and led to his resignation and that of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Edward Henry. There had been a Police Union created some years ago by an Inspector who had been dismissed. It had lately become more active, and the Police had been forbidden to join it. A constable named Theil had disobeyed and had been dismissed. The Union then gave New Scotland Yard some 36 hours in which to reinstate Theil and increase the Police pay by 13s. 6d. a week. No notice was taken of the threat, and the Police were then called out by the Union. They came out, first 800, then 2000, then 4000. Smuts tried to settle matters, and the War Cabinet saw the Union people, when the threat was made—so it is rumoured—that the Trade of London would be suspended the next day unless the Union Ultimatum was accepted. The War Cabinet surrendered. Neither Sir E. Henry nor Freddy could stay in such circumstances. There had been no serious complaint of insufficient pay before, but the Police had been unsettled by the great rise of wages all round. Freddy thinks that the want of company officers in the Force had been a mistake, and that there should have been an officer in each division to keep close touch with the men. The Police Strike created

the worst possible impression in London, and this once popular body has lost the confidence of the public. The Specials called out did well, except in the working-class areas and East End, where they failed to respond. Our Hampstead S. division turned out well. Sir Nevil Macready has succeeded Henry, and the W.O. loses a good A.G.

Sunday, Nov. 24. Six days after the signature of the Armistice the Allies advance to occupy Alsace-Lorraine and the Rhine Province, Luxemburg, and the Palatinate. We send our two Senior Generals, Plumer and Rawlinson, with the 2nd and 4th Armies towards Cologne. The Belgians are on our left. The American 3rd Army, under Dickman, of 10 divisions, advances on Luxemburg for Coblenz. The French make for Mainz. In all, there are 40 infantry and 5 cavalry divisions to occupy German territory and the bridge-heads. The King of the Belgians enters Brussels amidst great rejoicing, while Pétain enters Metz and Castelnau Colmar. Foch will enter Strasbourg to-morrow. The march of the French into Alsace and Lorraine is a great triumph. This last week, also, our Navy has received the surrender of the German warships. The ships of the High Sea Fleet surrendered to Beatty off the Forth, and the submarines to Tyrwhitt off Harwich. An extraordinary and unparalleled event. All passed off well.

Monday, Dec. 2. Yesterday Plumer crossed the German frontier, and the general advance into the Rhineland and the Palatinate began. Yesterday, also, Clemenceau and Foch arrived in London for a conference, and were most enthusiastically received by the people. Went to see the reception and was much pleased by the sincerity and unaffected heartiness of London's greeting. I have never heard such cheering in staid old London before.

Germany in a state of political confusion, in which tragedy and comedy blend in equal parts. Austria nearly as bad, and Russia worse.

The losses of the belligerents begin to be roughly stated. Ours are over 3 millions: Germany reports 6 millions, and Austria the same: France, 2½ millions net loss, but her

gross casualties not yet stated: Russia, 6 millions, including 2 millions dead: Italy on the way to 2 millions gross: Serbia, 323,000. America has lost nearly a quarter of a million. All these need estimating on some common system, and they do not include deaths or waste by sickness.

Tuesday, Dec. 17. The occupation of the Rhine Province proceeds without incident, and we are all now in position and holding the bridge-heads. President Wilson lands at Brest. He reached Paris last Saturday, and had a magnificent reception. The General Election here has not aroused much interest. The voting took place last Saturday, and the result will be announced on the 28th. Haig, with his chief Staff officers from G.H.Q. and his Army commanders, arrive in London next Thursday. I wrote an appreciation of him in to-day's *Post*.

I asked Griscom to obtain for me a brief statement from the A.E.F. of the facts about American numbers in France and numbers of divisions in the line this year, and here it is. A fine record, creditable to Pershing and to the Washington Administration. I base an article in the *Post* on it, which will, I hope, silence the foolish statements which are current.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FRANCE, *December* 3, 1918.

MEMORANDUM for Col. L. C. Griscom.

SUBJECT: Data on the Operations of the United States Forces in France.

1. *Number of American Divisions in France :—*

January 1, 1918	4 divisions.
February 1, 1918	6 divisions; 1 division in line.
March 1, 1918	8 divisions; 2 divisions in line.
April 1, 1918	10 divisions; 2 divisions in line.
May 1, 1918	13 divisions; 4 divisions in line.
June 1, 1918	16 divisions; 6 divisions in line.
July 1, 1918	24 divisions; 9 divisions in line (3 of these in active sector).
August 1, 1918	32 divisions; 10 divisions in line (5 of these in active sector, and 10 in reserve in active sector).

September 1, 1918. 37 divisions; 12 divisions in line (13 in reserve in active sector).
October 1, 1918 . 40 divisions; 19 divisions in line (12 in reserve in active sector).
November 1, 1918. 42 divisions; 18 divisions in line (12 in reserve in active sector).

2. *Strength of Divisions.* While engaged in active operations it has been the policy of the A.E.F. to keep all divisions as near to war strength as possible. In the Meuse-Argonne campaign many divisions suffered severe losses, but these losses were replaced as soon as possible. So that, for the most part, all divisions were kept within three or four thousand men of the authorised strength. This war strength, according to the latest Tables of Organisation, is 28,153 officers and men.

The maximum number of troops employed at any one time was reached on September 26, 1918, when the Meuse-Argonne offensive was started. On this date the number of men employed on the Western front was as follows :—

Combatants . .	1,224,720
Non-Combatants .	493,764
Total . .	1,718,484

3. *St. Mihiel Operation.* The following divisions were engaged at the beginning of the St. Mihiel Operation :—

1st, 2nd, 5th, 26th, 42nd, 82nd, 89th, and 90th Divisions.

The 4th Division was later thrown into the fight. The following divisions were held in reserve during this operation :

3rd, 4th, 35th, 78th, 80th, and 91st Divisions.

4. *Meuse-Argonne Operation.* The Meuse-Argonne Operation consisted of two distinct phases; the first commencing on September 26, and lasting until November 1, 1918. Upon that date a second attack was made which continued until the Armistice went into effect on November 11.

The following ten divisions began the operation on September 26th, in the front line :—

4th, 26th, 28th, 33rd, 35th, 37th, 77th, 79th, 80th, and 91st Divisions.

Upon this date the following eight divisions were in reserve :—

1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 29th, 32nd, 82nd, and 92nd Divisions.

All these reserve divisions were later thrown into the fight, to-

gether with the following divisions which were placed at the disposal of the First Army :—

42nd, 78th, 89th, and 90th Divisions.

The initial attack on September 26, 1918, was very successful, and netted an extreme advance of 10 kilometres in two days. From October 1 until October 18, there was continuous fighting along the whole Army front, from west of the Argonne forest to the Meuse, but no concerted attack was made until November 1. On October 25 the line extended almost due east and west through a point about 2 kilometres north of Grand Pré.

On November 1 a general attack was launched, preceded by a carefully prepared artillery bombardment. This attack was extremely successful, and resulted in an advance of nearly 40 kilometres in seven days.

5. *The Second American Army.* At the time the Armistice went into effect there were evidences of a general withdrawal along the front of the 2nd Army from the Meuse on the west to the Moselle on the east. The 2nd Army was preparing to follow vigorously this withdrawal.

The following divisions composed the 2nd Army :

4th, 7th, 28th, 33rd, 35th, 88th, and 92nd Divisions.

FOX CONNER,
Brigadier-General, G.S.,
Asst. Chief of Staff, G.3.

The Armistice has been prolonged with certain minor modifications. Next week there begins the Peace Conference in Paris. A tangled skein to unravel indeed.

Thursday, Dec. 19. To-day Haig with his five Army Commanders, Plumer, Rawlinson, Birdwood, Byng, and Horne, came to London with the chief officers of G.H.Q. and drove from Charing Cross to Buckingham Palace. A fine sunny day. No escort, nor did troops line the road, nor were any public decorations ordered. But the reception by the public was most warm, and the cheering equalled that for Foch and Clemenceau. There were enough flags to make the route gay. I went to see it in Piccadilly from the roof of the writing-room of the N. and M. Club. A large squadron of aeroplanes manœuvred over our heads. Lunched with King Manuel and the Vicomte Asseca at the Ritz, and dis-

cussed the murder of the Portuguese President and the King's travels in England and Ireland. We were talking of a man who is deaf, and King Manuel told us that his father, who was also a trifle hard of hearing, had once made a famous remark about it, namely, that '*une surdité bien administrée vaut mieux qu'un majorat.*' We agreed that Soveral had been far more correct in his views on the war than any other foreign diplomatist in London. I was also amused with the story of Lord Bertie in Paris, after a risky story told at a luncheon party at the Ritz, having turned to Ollivier and said to him, 'Il ne faut pas raconter cette histoire à la Préfecture' (of Police). Every maître d'hôtel is credited with recounting all the tittle-tattle of the smart restaurants to the police. King M. advised me most seriously to 'Watch Portugal.' Evidently something is due to happen there.[1]

Friday, Dec. 20. Mr. Peacock, the manager of the *Morning Post*, sends me a telegram received by him from General Nolan, Assistant Chief of Staff, American Expeditionary Force, asking permission to reprint and distribute as an official leaflet, and also to publish in the *Stars and Stripes*, which is the official newspaper of the A.E.F., my article of Dec. 9, on America's Effort. Nolan says that the article is admirable, has greatly pleased all officers of the American Army, and that it is thought advisable to give it very full circulation among the officers and men of the A.E.F.

Sir Auckland Geddes has the courtesy to send a nice letter to his N.S.R.s. Here it is:—

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL SERVICE,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1,
11*th November* 1918.

DEAR SIR,—Now that, owing to the glorious issue of the War, the work of the Ministry of National Service is coming to a close, I desire to take the earliest opportunity of personally thanking you for your loyal co-operation, and for the invaluable assistance you have given in undertaking the arduous duties of a National Service Representative.

The successful recruiting of His Majesty's Forces has been

[1] A month later the monarchical rising in Oporto began.

largely due to the enthusiasm and devotion to duty which have been shown by you and other voluntary National Service Representatives.

I well know what a difficult and thankless task was entrusted to you. The smooth and successful operation of measures so inherently distasteful to our countrymen as the Military Service Acts is no small tribute to the energy, tempered by tact, with which you and other National Service Representatives have carried out your duties.

To the expression of my deep appreciation of the assistance you have given I add the confident hope that your patriotic and unselfish services will be gratefully remembered by the Nation.—Yours faithfully, A. C. GEDDES.

Lieut.-Col. à C. REPINGTON,
Maryon Hall, Hampstead, N.W. 3.

Monday, Jan. 6. The turmoil of the General Election has now calmed down. The Coalition has a huge majority, and all those who have gone against the national sentiment during the war, or are even supposed to have been remiss, have been thrown out. But only 50 per cent. of the new Electorate have voted, and the new female suffrage has not resulted in the return of a single woman member in Great Britain. The Peace Conference assembles this week in Paris. The two months' delay since the Armistice, the inaction of our Armies, and the delays in demobilisation, have caused some unrest, and there have been unruly scenes both in our Armies in France and here at home. The result of reaction after strain.

The Marquis Imperiali and Max-Muller interest me greatly at a week-end party where we had good talks over the critical days of 1914. The Ambassador is sure that Mensdorff never believed in war. Mensdorff, he says, had the faculty of not looking at things that he did not wish to see or that were disagreeable, and told Imperiali and others that England would never go to war. Lichnowsky was pessimistic, and Imperiali thought that he had been warned. He says that Lichnowsky's accounts are perfectly accurate, and he can confirm them.

Berchtold, Forgach, and Herr von Tschirschky, the German Ambassador at Vienna, seem to have drafted the Ultimatum to Serbia together. Max-Muller, who was at Pesth, heard of the Ultimatum on July 23. Imperiali says that the Secret Treaties between France, England, and Italy, by which the latter Power joined the Entente, were signed at 2 P.M. on April 25, 1915, and that the same evening they were mentioned at a cocotte's dinner party at Paris, at which was present an Italian who warned the Ambassador. We could not decide when it was that the Kaiser was won over to the war, but we agreed that his military party took charge of affairs and that the Kaiser rather consented to war than wished war. Fritz Ponsonby, who was with us, is writing a History of the Grenadiers in the war, and lays stress on the difficulty of obtaining German facts. We all agree that a veridic history of the days of June, July, and August 1914 will be hard to reconstruct, so many are the actors involved and so intricate the intrigues.

Respecting the disobliging *communiqué* about Orlando published in Paris on Sept. 1, and Mandel's statement to me that Orlando had seen and approved it in advance, Imperiali assures me that the text was different from that seen by Orlando. None of the French papers which gave it were allowed to enter Italy.

Tuesday, Jan. 21. During the last fortnight the representatives of 25 States have assembled at Paris for the Peace Conference, and after various preliminaries, held their first *séance plénière* at the Quai d'Orsay. Clemenceau elected to preside, and he looks like keeping the team in order. The affair began by a coolness between the Conference and the Press because the latter was deprived of news, but the thing has blown over. Foch renews the Armistice again on the 17th for a month. I make out that the Germans had demobilised some 2,700,000 men early this month, but still have some 2,000,000 of all sorts under arms. By to-day there are only some 19 German divisions in the East and 5 in the West, and I should say that by the end of this month, including all garrisons, the Germans

will be down to their old Peace strength. The French boast that they themselves will have demobilised 2,000,000 by March. The Americans have sent home most of their men in the U.S. camps and from England, but only 114,000 from France yet. We have sent home about half a million.

All quiet in Alsace-Lorraine and the occupied parts of Germany. The Germans have had a lot of trouble with their extremists in Berlin, and much fighting has taken place there, culminating in the doing to death of Liebknecht, the fanatical Spartacist, and Rosa Luxemburg, the female fury who was his best help. Most of Germany fairly quiet, and the elections for the new National Assembly took place yesterday, resulting in the Majority Socialists, or present Government party, having the largest following, and the Democrats the next biggest.

I have been writing most days on the questions before the Conference. The real crux is the Russian policy which the Powers are to pursue. An indiscretion of the *Humanité*, which published a despatch of Pichon's of Jan. 5, showed us to our dismay that L. G. had been trying to get Bolshevist delegates to Paris. Most people think that Poland ought to be helped by us and also the loyal Russian forces which are fighting Bolshevism, but the Conference cannot make up its mind what to do, and we hear that President Wilson will not let it.

I have seen much of the Poles here and have heard their side, which I am defending. Count Sobanski and M. Zalicki are very useful to me. Winston has the War Office, and is wisely having long talks with Haig about things. The appointments of F. E. Smith as Lord Chancellor and of Walter Long as First Lord are much criticised by the Northcliffe Press, while Winston's nomination to be War Secretary displeases others. The Duchess of St. Albans promises me her father's (Bernal Osborne) private Memoirs, which I want to see, as he knew so much and so many people in his day. B. O.'s wife, I remember, once said that one of her daughters had married a duke and the other a policeman. The latter was Sir Henry Blake, whom I knew

so well in the old Land League days. He is just dead, alas! I think the Irish Convention killed him. I told the Duchess how much I admired him, even before he made his great career as Colonial Governor.

At the Duchess of Sutherland's at Sutton Place I met Marconi last Sunday. He terrified us by saying that he had discovered a machine to take photographs through a wall or ceiling, thus opening up a prospect of unlimited trouble. Photos taken by this horrible instrument in the street show one's figure without the clothes! Also he said that he could now receive wireless telephone messages from 1000 miles distance, and that some day he would so store energy that a motor car would run for a thousand years without recharging. Heaven grows more and more a better world! The Sutherlands have made Sutton Place more perfect than ever. They have placed in it their beautiful Romneys, Hoppners, etc., including the exquisite Gower family, and with the tapestries the place is now a treasure house and most comfortable. The great Perseus bronze is very admirably placed on the crest of the slopes on the river-side and looks uncommonly well. Rivaroli's paintings are mostly in a room by themselves, and are very brilliant and decorative on a grey blue wall.

Friday, Jan. 24. Still writing daily on the Conference. We are asking the Bolshevist and other local Russian Governments to confer with us at Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora, to the extreme annoyance and disgust of the anti-Bolshevists. We are also sending a mission to Poland. Both these plans are to get information. In each case an *échappatoire* to excuse the Conference from doing anything. We have masses of information on both subjects already. Dined with the Scarbroughs, Wednesday —an agreeable evening. Jack Cowans, Lord R. and Lady Moyra Cavendish, Colonel and Lady Florence Willoughby, the Maguires, and a relative of the host's who gave me an interesting account of her experiences in France. We talked rather late. Scarbrough's Volunteers have pretty well ended their activities. There were 305,000 of them

before the war ended, and now S. thinks that the original Territorials will be reconstituted. Bad accounts of the numbers of recruits taking on for the Regulars : it is said only 11,000 as yet ! Dined, Thursday 23, at Lady Downshire's, 43 Charles Street, and met Lord Edward Gleichen, Mrs. Chaplin, the Duke of Rutland, Major Graves, Lady Massereene, and Mrs. Handford, the Bishop of Down's daughter. Lady Downshire's husband died about a year ago. A nice medium-sized house formerly Cis Bingham's. The Italian decorations have been removed, and the house has been done up in early English style, severe, restful, and in excellent taste. A beautiful and charming hostess, and a very pleasant evening.

Tuesday, Feb. 4. All the Russian patriot parties have refused the invitation of the Conference to meet in the Sea of Marmora. Last week the question of the disposal of the captured territories came up. Wilson wants to apply the mandatory scheme advocated by General Smuts in his pamphlet on the League of Nations, and our Dominions hate it, as do the French, but a provisional compromise has been effected. The Commissions at work at last. There will be much trouble about the League, as President Wilson is apparently trying to make it a sort of World Government and going much too fast. On the other hand, the Peace terms go much too slow. Here we are nearly three months from Armistice Day and we can present no peace terms to the Boche.

Went to the first big function since the Armistice, a dinner of 100 at 10 tables at Lord Furness's house and a dance afterwards, where many people turned up. A pleasant dinner. I watched a couple of dances or so and then left. A rare lot of pretty women ; many smart young fellows still, mostly in uniform, and a bevy of pretty girls. Nearly every one in London seemed to be there. All the new dances, if they can be called dances, and jolly dresses, but very little of them. Many ladies told me that they felt quite dazed in a throng strange to us all for nearly five years. How soon the world forgets !

Hardly a family represented there that had not lost one member or more in the war.

Labour troubles very bad. To-day all the tubes were closed.

Sunday, Feb. 9. L. G. returned from Paris yesterday to meet Parliament, which has just reopened. Labour troubles more serious. Owing to snow and stoppage of tubes and district railways I am nearly marooned on my mountain. Much trouble with the troops, who are rather unruly. They cannot understand the demobilisation plan, and march to the W.O. when, as yesterday and the day before, trains are not ready for them to return to France. We have usually had 75,000 men at home on leave from abroad. They return as individuals, and this works all right when things are quiet, but in these times of unrest and with the cold and strikes it does not answer. They do not want to go back to France, and those ordered to return to Cologne to be demobilised and sent back home again, think the plan foolish, as indeed it is, and do not look forward to the long and cold journey by rail, where a bad service and great delays cause hardship. These stray men have no officers or N.C.O.s with them, and there are not enough rest camps between London and Folkestone to take them in. The hostels in London are also not too popular.

Yesterday I found Victoria guarded by Scots Guards and the Blues, and met Mr. John Burns, who was very critical of the want of arrangements and the use of armed force. But things had got beyond a joke, and though all sympathise with the men the indiscipline must be stopped. Robertson has been placed in charge of affairs by Winston. I think that he will get the Guards Division home, as the units in London are very weak. He says that the troops have behaved well in Glasgow, etc., but he cannot get any one to tell him that it is legal to tell troops to break a strike by taking the place of strikers. On the whole, the new scale of bonuses, rising from half a guinea a week for a private, for the Armies of Occupation has been

well received, but R. wishes the scale applied to all troops, and thinks that the new scale for the future Regular Army must be something nearly the same. Winston promises to try and settle this matter this week.

Elisabeth Asquith engaged to the Rumanian Prince Bibesco. Met Lady Cynthia Asquith to-day at Lady Randolph's : she describes the Prince as one of the cleverest men she knows. Soveral, Lady Gwendeline, General Ashmore, and Stephen Leslie all very amusing. Lady R. told a story of an admirer pouring out praises of his lady-love to a cynic. 'Her virtue is above rubies,' gushed the admirer. 'Try diamonds,' replied the cynic. Another tale of M. Cambon on his first sight of the new Jazz dancing. 'Qu'en pensez-vous, Excellence ?'—'C'est épatant, les figures sont si tristes, et les derrières si gaies !' S. L. says that the young women, seventeen to twenty-four, are a class by themselves. They want independence, don't like the generation next older to them, won't meet their friends or read the same books or admire the same art. A general movement of social mutiny against the old feminine trammels. Even quite young girls affected by it. It is not a movement to get more liberty to meet men friends, but rather the contrary. The corresponding young men appear to dislike these ideas. Met Bee Pembroke at Lady Scarbrough's yesterday. The Wilton hospital is closed. Reggie still in Paris. Bee sat between L. G. and Briand one night at the Embassy in Paris, and translated the questions and answers. L. G. asked what Briand would now do in his place. Briand replied that he would have L. G.'s information and would act accordingly. L. G. also asked how many times Briand had been P.M. 'Seven times,' replied Briand. 'When will you be P.M. again ?'—'I have been inoculated so often that I am free of the disease.' Bee described L.G.'s infectious enthusiasm as he rushed in to announce Austria's surrender. The terms asked had been purposely made most severe in order to test the weakness of Germany. Scarbrough has many good ideas for the Volunteers and resuscitated Territorials.

Tuesday, Feb. 25. The last fortnight has been marked by the attempted assassination of glorious old Clemenceau, who was badly wounded, but is happily pulling round. Wilson leaves for America, and on arrival makes a great speech at Boston in favour of the League of Nations. The Conference marks time meanwhile. Many labour troubles here, and a threatened strike of the Triple Alliance of miners, railway, and transport men. L. G. at home to cope with it.

I have met two interesting men lately, one the American, Mr. George Creel, in charge of information, propaganda, and secret service; and the other, Brig.-Gen. Cockerill, who has been in charge of our secret information and contre-espionnage all through the war. Creel has many enemies, as any man doing his job must have. He is a youngish man with rather sallow complexion and black hair. He has had, he says, 150,000 men under him, and has placed Wilson's speeches in every town of importance in the world within twenty-four hours of delivery. He has a body of four-minute-speech men who go round and work things up, also a Committee of picked advertisement agents and writers who fill the papers with things to help. He declares that his system has cost a third of ours, and is much more efficient. Cockerill told me the whole story of the adventures in London of my telegram of May 12, 1915, about the shells. Neither Cockerill nor any of his best men have had adequate thanks or reward for their work. The usual fate of Intelligence agents; and the W.O. hauled him over the coals for issuing an order to thank his men. C. says that by working up the wireless he sometimes gave our G.H.Q. the German operation orders before the operation began, and also helped the N.I.D. to know when a naval operation of the Boches was pending. C. had his greatest difficulties in official stupidity and obstruction. He is now M.P. for Reigate.

I have met Winston twice at dinner lately. He is doing well, and the new rates of pay are attracting 1500 veterans of the war per day. He expects to get 250,000 this year in

addition to untrained recruits. He is very anti-Bolshevist, and is for strong measures against them. Some 1,500,000 men have been demobilised, and I also see few Dominion men about now. The Guards division are on their way home, and the first unit marched into London to-day. Met Poklevsky one day at lunch. He is most anxious for us to recognise the Nationalist Governments of Russia. A large dinner one night at Mrs. Keppel's. I think there must have been thirty. Lady Bonham-Carter and Mrs. Charles Hunter, who were my neighbours, were very agreeable. Mrs. K. and I defeated the American Army at Bridge afterwards. Mr. Doubleday, the American publisher, came to lunch, 22nd.

Dined at Theresa Lady Londonderry's on the 24th. The Lord Chancellor and Lady Birkenhead as she is now, Scarbrough, the Duke of Leeds, the Dean of Durham, Walter Long, the Ladies Ormonde, Herbert, Ilchester, and Mar. A very pleasant evening. F. E. has been treasuring up for thirty-three years his resentment at having been ploughed, together with Amery, for a Harrow scholarship by the Dean when the latter was Headmaster of Harrow, and he attacked him about it across the table, declaring that he had succeeded in everything that he had undertaken in life except on this one occasion. It was his only failure. 'It was rather *my* failure,' said the Dean politely. He remembered the occasion. Mrs. Amery had come to him and had told him how clever her son was, but all mothers did that. 'Oh!' said F. E., not yet mollified, 'there was no need for *my* mother to tell you the same thing about me as she felt certain you would have discovered for yourself.' F. E. said to me that thirty-three years was a long time to wait, but that one always got one's own back in time. He had never met the Dean since the Harrow episode! He finds the Woolsack a great grind. He sits for ten hours a day, either on appeal cases or while the House of Lords is sitting. He says that one can do everything quickly except sit quickly. The Woolsack is a comfortable seat. No one else is supposed to sit on it unless invited by the Chancellor. But the hours are so

long that F. E. thinks of taking a wrinkle from Labour and 'downing wigs!' Walter Long and others very interesting after dinner about Lord K. and the earlier Cabinets of the war. The hostess in her best form and most agreeable.

Lunched to-day with Captain and Lady Eileen Clarke to hear about Murmansk. Not much chance of getting our troops away from Archangel till June. Very few Russians have joined. They expected food and money, and when they did not get either they stayed away. The Arctic kit of each of our soldiers costs £28. The most useless expedition imaginable. We have people some 300 miles down the railway. Clarke now A.D.C. to Archie Murray at Aldershot. Lady Eileen has been doing chauffeuse for generals. Cis Bingham joined us and told us a good story against her. One old general had forgotten who his chauffeuse was and asked her, as they nearly ran over some one, 'Who the hell is that?'—'I 'm damned if I know,' Lady E. is credited with having suitably replied. Another story of another lady of title who was driving a Minister who was a peer. He gave her some directions, and she said, 'Yes, sir.'—'I am usually addressed as My lord,' said the Minister haughtily. 'And I am usually addressed as My lady,' replied the chauffeuse.

Sunday, March 2. A quiet week in Paris, but the new Armistice conditions for Germany promise to be nearly preliminary peace terms and to be very onerous. Things in Germany are unpleasant. Munich and some other towns have practically gone Bolshevist, and Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Prime Minister, has been murdered. It is doubtful whether the Government at Weimar has the power to keep order. President Wilson busy in America in favour of his League of Nations. I am supporting him, though the *Post* is not very friendly to the scheme. But we cannot get Wilson to sign the Peace without the League, and if the signature of the U.S. is not on the Peace we shall have to revert to balance of power policy pure and simple, and this will mean war again later on. So we

have to pay for the American signature by accepting various inconvenient things which are in the League Draft Convention.

Lunched with Mrs. Astor on the 26th, and met Lady Sackville and Bogey. I am concerned that Mrs. A. has to go to a nursing home for an operation. Dined with Lady Sarah the same night, and found the Laverys, the Winston Churchills, Sir Ernest Cassel, the Lord Chancellor and Lady Birkenhead, General Brancker, Lady Nunburnholme, and Lady Mar. An amusing talk after dinner. F. E. and Winston in great form. It appears that the Government thought of prosecuting the *Morning Post* again the other day for some sarcasm about Winston, and F. E. expected to win the case and get £2000 damages. But the Attorney was less certain, and so, wisely, nothing was done. Lunched with Lady Pembroke, 27th; Jack Cowans, Lady Mar, Mrs. Beckett, Lord Lonsdale, Lady Muriel Herbert, and Charles de Noailles. Lady Muriel just back from her camouflage school in France, where she has been in charge of some hundreds of Boulogne fisherwomen who have been employed on the work. She says that they have an *argot* of their own very hard to understand. Also any fisherwife beaten in an argument with another, collapses on the ground on her back, and begins to drum with her heels to attract sympathy. It is a regular fashion, just as our greatgrannies used to get 'the vapours' and faint. Charles de N. says that Lady Muriel had a *succès fou* in Paris. Her plain khaki dress, short dark hair, and air of peculiar distinction won the hearts of all the fashionable ladies who raved about her. Several of the party had been at Princess Patricia's wedding, and were full of it. Jack C. is to become Chairman of an Oil Combine in Mesopotamia, and will go on half pay, but no announcement is to be made yet.

An amusing luncheon at Lady Massereene's on the 28th. Lady Carson, Islington, Mrs. Tom Bridges, and Denis Bingham. A lot of Irish stories, but only one remains with me. An Ulster working woman in order to keep her

children away from a dangerous pond told them that it was 'chock-full of wee popes.' They would not go near it afterwards! Dined with the Maguires the same night; Lady Mar, Lord Buckmaster, Colonel Stanley, Lady Nunburnholme, Sir Ernest Cassel, Lady Wolverton, Lord Lurgan, Lady Bingham, Sir R. and Lady Graham, Lady Delia Peel, and one or two more. Graham seems to be worked to death at the F.O. in the absence of Hardinge and other F.O. men. Pleasant and interesting talk. Lunched with Mrs. Keppel, Saturday. She and I and Lady Lilian Wemyss walked into the Park later to see the King's Review of the young soldiers' battalions which are off to the Rhine. A fine day and a good show. We were late and had no tickets, but walked through as if Hyde Park belonged to us, and got a good place. The King and Queen, Duke of Connaught, Prince of Wales, Sir W. Robertson, and many people present. The crowd estimated at 100,000. The young troops looked uncommonly well, and the King seemed very pleased. To-day Jack Stirling came up to lunch and told us much of interest about the Germans in the Rhineland. His battalion of the Scots Guards is on its way home. The Boches are very obsequious at Cologne. They do not seek to avoid the troops, but study them with deep interest. No one ever averts his head, and there have been no offences against the Army of Occupation. Jack thinks that the rich get fed, but the poor not, and that if we feed the people we should control the whole distribution, or the German regulations will not be applied properly. There seem to be scarcely any German troops on the Western front now. J. thinks that patriotism, as we and the French understand it, does not exist in Germany.

Theresa Lady Londonderry lunched with me at Claridge's one day this week, and was in her most entertaining mood and full of good stories and recollections. She is still the best company of any woman in London.

Sunday, March 9. The President left New York on the

6th for Paris. His journey seems to have been only a moderate success, for the Republican Senators are opposing the League of Nations Convention as drafted. He gives out that the country is with him, but the uncertainty on this subject will weaken him in Paris, and we shall have to give a balance of power bend to our policy for our security if the League fails or becomes jelly-fishy.

Went on the 3rd to the memorial service for F. E. Mackenzie, formerly correspondent of the *Times* at Berlin, at St. Andrew's, Wells Street. The 'Dead March in Saul' magnificently rendered. A good man at his work, very modest and retiring, and a great loss. All my old *Times* friends there, including those good fellows, John and Godfrey Walter. Geoffrey Dawson, who was there, has resigned the editorship, which has been given to Wickham Steed, and Fleet Street wonders whether the policy of the *Times* will now be Croatian, Serbian, or Slovene. G. D.'s letter of resignation appears in the *Morning Post*, but not in the *Times*. He complains that Northcliffe disliked the fact that D. did not follow N.'s policy as ventilated in other papers. I am amused that the *Times* treated G. D.'s letter of resignation as G. D. treated mine and did not publish it. The biter is bit. It is said that N. wrote to complain that G. D. was lagging behind his policy, and that G. D. denied this, saying that on the contrary he had never attempted to follow! G. D. tells others that he has felt like a dog with a tin pot tied to his tail. I respect his motives for resigning, but am glad he is out, as he was not big enough, and I can never forget nor forgive that he failed us at the crisis of the war.

Lunched with Lady Massereene on the 4th, and met Lord Curzon, Lady Islington, Mrs. Handford, Lord Dalmeny, and some others. Some talk with Curzon about the naval side of the war, with which he is well acquainted. Lunched with Bogey Harris on the 5th, and met Lady Sarah, Sir W. and Lady Menzies, Mrs. Keppel, and others. The house very nice, with some charming Italian bronzes, marbles, and pictures.

In the evening of the 6th a man's dinner party at Sir E. Cassel's; King Manuel, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Crewe, Sir Matthew Wilson, Billy Lurgan, and Felix Cassel. Winston expected, but was being assailed in the Commons over a Bill and could not get away. Much good talk. We all gave examples of Lord X.'s tall stories. Mine of his telling me that he always hacked 80 miles to covert on the Saturdays and 80 miles back was only voted good till better were told. One was of his appearing at the meet one day with a long-tailed straight-shouldered animal that no one knew, and saying that it was one of his mother's carriage horses which he wanted to teach to jump. All thought that he would get a rattling fall, but when the fox broke and the hounds streamed away X. was with them, the carriage horse fencing beautifully and soon lost the field. The horse turned out to be a famous chaser which has just run second in the Grand National! The best story was of a grouse drive, at which after one beat, when other guns had at most some 10 to 20 brace, X. came along and said that he had killed 250 brace. All were astonished, and Lady Y. went to look, and sure enough there they were, piled round his butt. Then she turned them over and found that they were stiff and cold. She rejoined the guns and taxed X. with her discovery. 'Cold, were they?' said X. 'Oh! yes, that's easily accounted for; *I was using chilled shot.*' Played Bridge after dinner with the King, the Chancellor, and Lurgan. The King won a good stake and plays well. He told me that the Revolution in Portugal had been premature, and that he had done his best to stop it. F. E. reduced from £30,000 a year to £3000 by taking the Woolsack, but he intends to make his turn at it more memorable than any since Brougham's and he is quite capable of it. He added another story to our Lord X. collection. He stayed with him years ago, and got so annoyed by the tall stories that he began to cap each one by inventing better stories of his own. When he was gone some one asked X. what he thought of F. E. 'He's a nice fellow enough,' said X., 'only

he 's such a d——d liar.' F. E. says that he will see to it that the inscription on his own tombstone runs that :—

HE WAS LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND
AND WAS CALLED A LIAR BY LORD X.

In spite of these stories we all agreed that Lord X. was a quite unique personality, a good sportsman, and a true friend.

On Saturday night I turned dramatic critic for a lark and went to *The House of Peril* at the Queen's Theatre. Wrote an account of it for the *Post*. Not much in my line I think. My critique seemed to me extraordinarily poor. It seems that one has to learn things before one does them. I had quite forgotten the fact in watching politicians running a war.

Saturday, March 15. The President now back in Paris, and things are stoking up for big decisions. The Conference at last concentrating on what they ought to have begun with, namely, peace with Germany. During the four months' delay since Armistice day we must have wasted—England alone—some 500 millions on war expenditure. If our War Cabinet had got their terms ready, which was their business, instead of muddling about with strategy, which was not their business, we might have saved much of this.

A pleasant dinner at Belle Herbert's on the 10th ; the Dowager Lady Londonderry, the Robertsons, Midletons, Lister Kayes, and Lady Florence Willoughby. A good talk with Lady Londonderry about people and politics. She told me that she had had a temperature of 101° the last time that I dined with her, but refused to stay in bed. Her heart is troubling her and she ought to lie up, but it is the last thing that she will ever do.

On the 11th dined with the Maguires. An agreeable evening. Sir Fritz and Lady Ponsonby, George Peel, Lord and Lady Harcourt, Lady Massereene, Sir Seymour Fortescue, Lady Keppel, and some others. A lot of the first Sir Robert's plate put out on the sideboard and dinner

table. It was late George III. and had the Royal Arms, having belonged to the Duke of York. Very massive and gorgeous. After dinner I taxed Harcourt about his diary. He admitted that he had a complete record of the whole of our times since he was nineteen. He was secretary to his father, Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, and when he was nineteen he had been given the key of the F.O. despatch boxes by Gladstone, who told him that he trusted Lulu and was the only man who could give him the key. When could he publish? Lulu did not know, as the diary was *too* complete, and he thought that the public hangman would probably burn it. He thought that no one had a fuller account of the Gladstone, C. B., and Asquith administrations. He had a full record of the crisis of Dec. 1916, from hour to hour, just as Montagu has. I wonder how they will compare! Lulu says that a diary is no good unless written up within twenty-four hours of events, and I agree. McKenna was right in thinking that the Harcourt Memoirs would be one of the chief documents of our time. But posterity will have to remember the political bias of the writer, and must season his Radicalism with many grains of Conservative salt.

On the 12th lunched with Lord Dalmeny at his father's house in Berkeley Square to talk over Palestine and Allenby's campaigns. A very comfortable house. The pictures here, as elsewhere, are being resurrected from the cellars. We agreed that Allenby ought to be made High Commissioner and placed in charge of Egypt, Messpot, and Palestine, but Wingate still said to be going back, and the F.O. may not be willing to give up its cherished preserve. Dalmeny told me of the great confidence of all in Allenby, and of his immense prestige. His name written in Arabic reads like El Nebi, the prophet, and therefore the legend that Jerusalem would be retaken by a prophet who had come out of the West had come true. One doubting Thomas of an Arab even asked whether Allenby had changed his name when he came upon the scene! D. told me that when I was with Allenby watching him direct his Arras

battle in April 1917 there was one thing which I did not know. This was the uncommonly poor send-off which he received before launching his attack. He gave me details. D. said that I could now appreciate the coolness of Allenby in deciding to attack in spite of this wretched send-off, and his calm throughout the battle, even more highly than before. Yes, indeed! His whole professional repute was at stake, yet I never saw a man more cool and confident, and his battle was the biggest success we had had up to that date. D. said that no man was more patient with his subordinate generals than Allenby, or had *dégommé* fewer of them. He had lived through very trying times in France and Palestine, and D. thought that Allenby's reorganisation of his Army, after nearly all his white divisions had been taken from him after the smash of March 21 in France, was one of his finest services. He never complained, but went cheerily on and smashed up the Turks with his most nondescript Army.

Dined with the Ernest Cunards the same night. A pleasant party of the Spanish Ambassador and Madame Merry del Val, quite recovered from her serious illness; Jack Cowans, who is leaving the W.O. on Saturday; Mrs. Hall Walker; Sir Sidney Greville; Belle Herbert; Mrs. Arthur James; Mr. Mason; Admiral Sims, who is returning to America this month to the deep regret of all of us; Mrs. George Keppel; Lady Sarah, off to France this week; and several others. An interesting talk with Greville after dinner about the young Prince of Wales, and a farewell talk with the gallant Admiral. The Ambassador called me aside just as I was sitting down to play Bridge to say that he thought my articles on the Conference the best that had appeared here, and that he had drawn the attention of his Government to them.

Lunched with Colin Agnew and Lord Berners in South Audley Street on the 13th. A quiet and comfortable flat. A good talk about art and politics. Berners I had met in Rome last year. He is a man of intelligence, and one of the best amateur musicians in London. Dined the same

night with Lady Downshire in Charles Street. A small party, including her sister, Miss Ruth Foster; Mr. Ingram, a Canadian writer who was very kind about my work and told us much of interest of present American views; Mr. Leo Trevor, the playwright, witty and pleasant; Wood of the Grenadiers, who played the piano well; and others. The most restful house in London.

Sunday, March 16. Heard this morning with deep sorrow of the death of Theresa Lady Londonderry last night, after a short and sharp illness. She was in the House of Commons only on Tuesday last. A great figure gone, and a real true friend. A *grande dame* of a period which is passing; one of the most striking and dominating feminine personalities of our time, terrifying to some, but endeared to many friends by her notable and excellent qualities. She was unsurpassed as a hostess, clear-headed, witty, and large-hearted, with unrivalled experience of men and things social and political, and with a most retentive memory and immense vivacity and *joie de vivre*. A heavy blow to her relatives and friends. In the last fortnight I have met her several times, and each time she seemed to be at her best. It seems scarcely credible that she is gone.

Sir W. and Lady Robertson lunched at Maryon. Haig is on his way home to take R.'s place, and R. goes out a month hence to command the Army of the Rhine. He will have ten good divisions under him, besides one cavalry division. His L. of C. will be by Antwerp and Rotterdam. All the rest of the stuff left in France by us will be gradually swept up, by General Asser probably, who will do it well, and R. will have nothing to do with it. He will try and get precise orders as to his powers and who is his master before he leaves. On the whole, he is glad to go. It is a good thing for him to command the Army on the Rhine. At home the position is so uncertain, with all the Army Commanders coming home, that R. thinks that he is better out of it. He tells me that all the reports concur that the poorer Boches are terribly short of food. The whole of Germany is fed up: fed up with the late Government,

with their Press for deceiving them, and with the present Government for being unable to make peace. We had a little talk over R.'s attitude and mine and Maurice's during the crisis of last year. R. thinks that as time goes on and memories of the crisis fade away, people may forget how nearly we were losing the war, and that our attitude during that serious time must be judged by the critical state of affairs which the politicians had spared no effort to conceal or distort. I agreed and said that the politicians had done what we had told them to do, but nine months too late, and only after the Boche had kicked them hard. It was our men, fighting against odds, that saved our bacon. It comes to this, we thought, that no one but a perfectly d——d fool *can* lose a campaign with a British Army to back him.

Sunday, March 23. The past week at Paris has not been good. There is still nothing done. President Wilson's wish to attach the League Convention to the Peace Treaty with Germany helps to hang it all up, for Allies and Neutrals, including some Republicans in the U.S., all want to amend the Convention, while the folk at Paris are still not unanimous about what they want from the Boches in the way of frontiers, reparations, indemnities, etc. The Boches are naturally growing uppish again: they refuse passage for Poles through Danzig, though they agreed to it under Article 16 of the Armistice of Nov. 11, and there are grounds for believing that a party in Germany does not mean to accept our terms. The Bolshevist menace is unchanged, and in Egypt and Syria there are serious troubles. Allenby sped West last week, and after thirty-six hours in Paris flew back to suppress the Gyppies, who are more or less in mild revolt, and there are rumours of massacres at Aleppo and Damascus. Allenby goes back as Special High Commissioner. Wingate is at home. Allenby has seen L. G., Clemenceau, Pichon, etc., and will have brought some life into our Eastern policy I hope. Our Labour troubles at home look like settling down *pro tem.* by the usual process of giving miners, railway, and

transport men about three-fourths of all they ask at a heavy cost to consumers and our general trade. At the rate we are going England will in the end become a home for rich cosmopolitans attended by Chinese coolies, and no working men will be able to live in it, as we shall produce everything at such a cost that we shall be undersold all round. Cotton goods from Japan now being sold here at a lower price than Lancashire can buy the cotton for them.

I saw Winston at the W.O. on Wednesday last, and had an hour's talk with him. He is using the same room as Haldane and Lord K., with his own huge writing-table arranged as K. had his, with the light from the left. He was in good form, very energetic and cheerful. Winston revels in work. He is pleased with the Haig-Robertson exchange, which he seems to have carried out himself without consultation. He wondered how the country would take a grant to Haig, and I said that the country only wondered why it had been so long delayed. He had, with surpassing tenacity, successfully commanded British Armies which had beaten all previous records, and we honoured them in honouring him. Besides, I told him, he will be invaluable to you in your reorganisation, and in these matters there is no better guide. Winston says that in the matter of new recruits we are now on the old pre-war standard. His great difficulty is what to do with the senior officers, of whom he can employ only about one in five. He has not got out his new pay scale for the future Regulars, and I told him that he could not expect a good flow of recruits until he did. I asked him about a Defence Minister, and he thought it the correct solution, with a soldier, a sailor, and a flying man at the head of their departments, represented in the House by Financial Under-Secretaries, the Defence Minister living apart, perhaps in his own house. But he has no intention of advocating the change. He does not contemplate a separate staff of Jacks-of-all-trades over the whole, but the best men of each service should learn the general functioning of the other services. He is doing a lot of spade work, much

neglected of late, and has two large cases of papers which he gets daily to see what is going on in his department. Not before it was needed.

On Saturday took Letty to see the triumphal march of the Guards through London. The Household Cavalry all on foot, and then the three Brigades of Guards, each battalion followed by its demobilised men in mufti and then by wounded men in lorries. A fine sight, and they took more than two hours to pass. A cold day and a bitter wind. The young Prince of Wales—the White Prince—riding a chestnut behind Lord Cavan. A dapper well-set-up young figure, and he was received with acclamations from all. He has much come on since 1914 when I saw him so often in France, and has had a quite unique experience and a splendid education for a Prince. The Guards have had over 44,000 casualties in the war, and they went out under 10,000 strong. Few, alas, of the old lot left. They were all good and steady, and there was a great crowd to greet them. The cheering rather subdued: the heavy losses were too much on all our minds.

The service for Lady Londonderry was at St. Peter's, Eaton Square. A very large gathering, with all the best known people now in town, and several Ambassadors and Ministers. Dignified and impressive and very sad. Madame Merry del Val drove me away in her car afterwards, and we mutually deplored the loss which we had all suffered. Madame also told me how deeply touched she herself had been during her recent illness by the kindness of her London friends. Her house was always heaped with flowers, and the King and Queen and Princess Mary had called or sent to inquire every day. She would never forget it.

Finished reading Jellicoe's book on *The Grand Fleet*. An honest book of an honest man. Let the critics cavil as they will. There are the facts, and let every one make what he will of them. To-day went to see Mrs. Astor, who is just back in Grosvenor Square after nearly three weeks of the nursing home. She was looking

like a beautiful French eighteenth-century *aquarelle*, half sitting up in a French bed with blue silk hangings and coverlet, and with pink pillows and pink jacket with much lace on it. A levee, or whatever the word should be, of self, Wolkoff, Brancker, and Sir George Clerk. She has had a bad time, but was in great spirits, and we told her all the news and the *potins*. Wolkoff and I walked away together, and he told me the latest news of the Bolshevists. Their system is economically impossible and must fail, but at present by printing miles of paper notes everybody more or less gets a large salary and does little work. There are no private shops left, and the Red Guards supply the Bolshevist restaurants by forced requisitions on the peasants, from whom relief may eventually come, Wolkoff thinks. The rouble notes are the only currency in Russia, but the Bolshies are said to be printing billions of foreign notes, and W. says that the Petrograd mint is better equipped for this than any outside of America. They evidently intend to deluge Europe with false money. The latest arrivals from Moscow think that most people detest the Bolshevist rule, but realise the awful state of affairs which must come about with the eventual crash, and so would vote Bolshevist as at all events they are fed and paid at present, and might be neither at first with a change of régime. An appalling prospect. We compared notes about the goings-on at Paris.

I made the acquaintance of General Sir John Monash, the Australian Commander, this week, and regret not to have met him before. A very alert, wideawake, shrewd man, who has proved himself on many fields in Gallipoli and France a first-rate leader. There are only 55,000 Australians left this side of the water now, and they are going back at the rate of 5000 a week. An immense number have married; up to 1000 in one week recently.

Tuesday, March 25. Yesterday came the news that Karolyi had resigned and Hungary had gone Bolshevist. This gravely complicates our task, but may galvanise the Paris Conference into action. Dined with Lady Downshire

yesterday and met Mrs. Jack Wilson, the Becketts, Miss Foster, and Lord Queenborough. A pleasant evening; much talk of many things. Q. told us that the Lords were having a field day with the pacificists, who were pleading for the interned Germans. Lunched with Lady Massereene to-day and met Mrs. Arthur Crichton; Mrs. Bate, who was Vera Arkwright, and has been working all these years at an American hospital in France; Colonel Frazer Hunter, a Canadian officer in an Indian Cavalry regiment, who has been much in Persia and Russia lately; Sir Sidney Greville; Lady Paget; and George Peel. Hunter seems to me a good man. He declares that the Bolshevist plan is to attack France through Italy, and that the Hungarian upset is the first move in the game and is of Bolshevist and German origin. He thinks that Germany will do as Hungary has done, as it is her only chance of escaping the severities of the Peace Terms. He thinks that our chance of succouring General Denikin was three months ago, and that the General's *cri de cœur* sent from Ekaterinador on the 5th and only published here to-day, is a warning that he cannot hold out much longer. Mrs. Bate very pretty. I met her at Lord Ribblesdale's early in the war, and have not seen her since. She was expected to marry either X. or Y., and then married an American artist in Paris. Drove off with Lady Minnie, and we discussed Paris affairs, private and public.

Monday, March 31. Owing to some indiscretion, L. G.'s hostile views about the Polish corridor have become known, and also his fury thereat, the result being that he, Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Orlando now meet in secret and little comes out. No decisions yet announced, but the French Press very anxious. Lunched with Sir John and Lady Lister-Kaye, the Max-Mullers, the Duchess of Rutland, and some others. Went off early to Bridget Guthrie's wedding to Colonel James at St. Margaret's, Westminster. A pretty wedding, and the bride and her attendants very sweet, including Violet, who was very self-possessed and statuesque. Met many people later

at Lady Kerry's house where the reception was held. Lunched with Lady Bridges, 27th; Mrs. Ernest Cunard, Madame Merry del Val, General Kennedy, Lady Furness, and Sir F. Swettenham. Madame full of good stories. Sir F. S. dying to have his Press Bureau closed as they have nothing to do, but the W.O. is preventing it on various pretexts, the chief one—utterly absurd—being that commercial orders may come by Press messages! Sir F. thinks that vested interests are keeping all this huge organisation going needlessly. The P.B. is a small affair financially, costing £30,000 a year, but the rest of the W.O. machinery is costing over three quarters of a million. Lady F. off to the Mediterranean next month.

Went to Easthampstead Park, Saturday to Monday, to stay with Lady Downshire, and found Mrs. Jack Wilson, and Leo Trevor also there besides Lady D.'s stepson, the present Marquess. Weather bad, much snow. We did some walking and motoring, and looked over the grounds, gardens, and stables. Lady Downshire has transformed the interior of the great house, which is now in perfect order and very comfortable. The park looking lovely, the air good, and the place very calm and peaceful. No papers on Sunday, no Bridge, and a very friendly party. We all came up to town to-day except young Lord D., who had one of his last days this season with the old Garth.

Saturday, April 5. Met the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch at Lady Paget's one day at lunch. A possible heir, if there be an heir, to the Russian throne, if it be ever put up again. A young man about twenty-seven. His father was murdered a few months ago with the other Grand Dukes at Petrograd. He was indirectly concerned in Rasputin's murder. He was only exiled by the Tsar and escaped into Persia, where the Marlings took charge of him. He fought for us, and was to-day in English uniform. He was very critical of all our failures to help the loyal Russians, and of the French doings at Odessa, where, he says, the French black troops refused to fight. The Lady Minnie will make him Tsar if any one

can. Lady Marling also at lunch and very agreeable. Dined with Lady Massereene, Mrs. Handford, and Lord Edward Gleichen at the Ritz. Colonel Frazer Hunter joined us later, and we took the ladies home. Gleichen drove his own car to the Ritz, and Hunter declared that he ran into everything that he met on the road. Violet Keppel introduced me to her fiancé, Captain Trefusis, a good-looking and well-groomed young man. The Lionel Guests and a party also there, and Lord Ludlow with a large party of people.

Things at Paris continue to drag dangerously, and we have not yet reached the stage of decisions about anything. L. G. and Wilson appear to be unable to agree to the drastic courses desired by the French, Poles, and Czechs, while the German indemnities become less and less, and there is much anxiety amongst all our friends. We are also anxious about our troops in the Arctic regions who are threatened by superior forces, and at Archangel are frozen in and can neither be relieved nor reinforced.

Sunday, April 13. A dullish week politically, and still no decisions. Lunched with Belle Herbert last Monday; her boys, Sidney and Michael, Olive, Lady Horner, and some others. Much interesting talk of current events. Tuesday a large party at Lord and Lady Massereene's for dinner; the Midletons, Lady de Trafford, the Spanish Ambassador and Madame Merry del Val, Mrs. Handford, Sir G. Macdonogh, Lady Loughborough, Lord Dalmeny, Lady Belper, Colonel Frazer Hunter, Mrs. Crichton, Lady Bridges, and one or two young men. Found myself next to Lady de Trafford and Lady Loughborough, so had an agreeable and amusing dinner. Lady L. an Australian, very dainty and charming. She married Rosslyn's eldest son in Egypt two years ago, and has already had two sons, of whom she says that she is frightened to death. Talked Peace Conference when the ladies had left the table. Macdonogh says truly that it is no good for the soldiers to give advice when a government does not act on it. Dalmeny's news from Egypt not very good. There seems

no doubt that we have given some encouragement to the Egyptian Nationalists, and that we are not without blame for having failed to foresee the troubles which have broken out there. I liked my (distant) cousin, Lady Belper, who was a Bruce. Lord M. appeals to me more and more as a fine chivalrous figure. I think he would be happiest either crusading or among his books. Circumstances have called him to share in the labours of the day. He has been soldiering all through the war, and is just back from Mesopotamia. Wednesday, lunched with Sir J. and Lady Lister-Kaye at the Ritz, and sat between Lady Carisbrooke and Lady Colin Keppel. Lady Carisbrooke an attractive character of much charm and dignity. With Lady Keppel I had much talk of her Admiral in old Nile days and found her very pleasant. Lord Carisbrooke also there with Lords Chesterfield and Curzon; an agreeable party. In the evening Lady Downshire, Lords Scarbrough and Peel, the Ernest Cunards, and Baroness van Heemstra dined with me at Claridge's. Judge Darling and Lady D'Abernon were to have come, but the first was detained on a Court-Martial Committee, and the latter returned too late from work at Godalming. We went on to a music hall to laugh with George Robey, who kept us all well amused for an hour or two. The ladies so agreeable that I could not have the talk with Peel that we had hoped to arrange.

On Thursday Ireland and Kitty dined with me. He was looking bigger and stronger than before his experiences in the East. Kitty very sweet and pretty, and they seemed very happy. Friday I lunched with Sir W. Robertson at the Cavalry Club, and with Seymour, his A.D.C. He leaves to take up the command of the Army of the Rhine next Friday. He is still without instructions, and still does not know whom he will be under. We talked of our present affairs and of the past. There seems to be a good deal of camouflage about all the late belligerent Armies. Our squadrons down to sixty horses, and the artillery too very weak. As to the past, R. told me that had it been

ordinary times when he was C.I.G.S. he might have accommodated himself to the wiles of the politicians, but he could not accept any compromise when affairs were so critical. A plan, for him, was either right or wrong. The country trusted him and he could not compromise between good and evil.

In the evening talked with Sir Hubert Gough just back from Transcaucasia. He thinks the Bolshevists are becoming milder and the anti-Bolshevists more liberal, with the result, as we are not helping the latter enough, that the two may combine. This, he says, is also the view of the Russian Colonel Enkel whom I met in Italy in 1916, who has been with the Volunteer Army and is on his way round to Finland to become Chief of Staff to General Mannermann commanding the Finn Army. If Russia becomes reunited, asks Enkel, what will she do and where will she go ? General Briggs is with Denikin, whose late victories I now understand. The advance of the Bolshevists caused less alarm at Nikolaieff than in London, and many non-Russians remained without any fear of them, while a British officer was hospitably received by them. Went in the evening to see the first night of *Romeo and Juliet* given by Doris Keane. Beautifully produced with fine scenery and dresses. Ellen Terry as the Nurse and Leon Quartermaine as Mercutio could not be bettered. Doris and Basil Sydney much taken to task by the critics in the name parts, and Doris very dissatisfied when we went round to see her after the play. It needs a lot of experience and superb elocution to play Shakespeare. But I hope that in a month or so the play will much improve. Even as it is, it has great beauties and is wonderfully staged.

Friday, April 18. Lloyd George returned to the fold Tuesday, and made a great speech in the Commons Wednesday. He told us little except that he was against hostilities with the Bolshevists, but abounded in generalities, and made a bitter onslaught on Northcliffe, whom he likened to a grasshopper, and on the *Times*, which he described as a threepenny edition of the *Daily Mail*. Went to Ciro's,

Monday, and talked to several soldiers at the Y.M.C.A. there. One negro soldier said that he liked music, and, when asked what he would like, asked for *Tales from Hoffman*.

Lunched with Mrs. Hall Walker at Sussex Lodge, Tuesday. It is being done up after the hospital time, and promises to be very nice. The big room will be cut in half again as in the time of Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., who used part of it as his studio. Mr. Fisher of New Zealand and Mrs. Clare Sheridan also there. Fisher does not think that Australia will permit the mandatory system to hamper her much when she takes over the German Colonies in the Pacific. Promised to go and see Mrs. Sheridan's studio and her sculpture, of which people speak so highly. In the evening dined with Lady Massereene and Mrs. Handford at Claridge's. Tom Mosley, M.P., was to have joined us, but was speaking in the House and could not get away. We had an amusing talk of men and women and current events, and then went back to Eaton Place, where M. Soldatienkoff, the Russian, joined us and we had some music. On Thursday went to Mrs. Sheridan's studio at 35 St. John's Wood Studios, Finchley Road, and stayed there to a pot-luck luncheon, but a very good one. The studio full of her work, which shows great talent and much variety of treatment. Her bust of Princess Patricia very successful, and so were many other busts, statues, statuettes, and bas-reliefs, including a bronze H. G. Wells and a noble head of a Siamese. The natural pose of her figures and their easy attitudes are particularly striking. She has only been at this work for two years and is already self-supporting.

Monday, April 28. During the last ten days the Conference has been making convulsive efforts to get ready the Treaty with Germany, and the Boches are arriving at Versailles this week. At the last minute a row began between President Wilson and the Italians. Instead of waiting for the last negotiations, Wilson published a sort of encyclical appealing to the Italian people against their

Government, with the result that Orlando and Sonnino left the Conference and are received with immense acclaim in Italy, where the people are all for holding on to Fiume and the Dalmatian coast. There is sure to be some compromise, so the anxiety is not great. A foolish act of Wilson's. *Ça ne se fait pas en diplomatie*, and if democratic diplomacy has these manners we shall get into trouble. Much rioting and some bloodshed in Egypt and India caused by agitators, and evidently the feeling in Egypt is particularly bitter.

Went down to Grenville for the week-end of the 19th to 22nd to stay with Miss Greenwood. A very pleasant visit. Spent most of our time on the downs or in the woods, now carpeted with spring flowers. Returned Tuesday, and went to the Opera with Mrs. Hall Walker, Mrs. Sheridan, and Mr. Fisher. On Friday lunched with Mrs. Harry Higgins, and met amongst others the Danish Minister, also Mrs. Peto, who was looking very pretty. In the evening to Lady Cunard's box at the Opera, where I found Lord and Lady Carisbrooke, Lady Worthington (a pretty and pleasant woman), the Spanish Duchesse Machena, Lady Acheson, Lady Hamilton, and some men, including Sir Basil Zaharoff, whom I was glad to meet. He is the mystery man of the war to most people, but not to our Ministers, with whom he is always in close touch. I have heard his name mentioned often abroad and with some awe. He is the largest shareholder in Vickers. He supported the Greek Army to the tune of some millions, and has founded several Chairs at our Universities. He is above the middle height, aged sixty-eight, with a good head, and French in appearance. He dislikes publicity, and for years his name has not been mentioned in the French Press. He prefers to work behind the scenes and get things done. We had a good talk when the others left the box between the acts.

On the 26th went down to Beaconsfield to stay with Mrs. Astor. A party of twelve, including Mr. and Mrs. Laughlin of the U.S. Embassy, Olive with David and Violet Guthrie, Alice Astor, Sir Seymour Fortescue, Commander Moore, U.S. Navy, and Lady Randolph. Early on Sunday

there came on a very heavy snowstorm with huge flakes, and by evening many inches of snow had fallen, and our visions of golf and tennis vanished. I had a good talk with Mr. Irwin B. Laughlin about his experiences in London as First Secretary and Chancellor of Embassy during the war. He has almost broken down under the strain which fell heavily on him because of Dr. Page's frequent illnesses and absences. Laughlin was usually at the Chancery from 9 A.M. till past midnight. The period before the U.S. came into the war was most trying to him. He thinks that the U.S. could only have come in at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and that there was no other good cause for her coming in until the ruthless U-boat war began. The U.S., he thinks, did not for long realise what the war meant. She therefore failed to make a great protest against the violation of Belgium, and did not believe in the Boche outrages, thinking that such things were not done. Laughlin thinks that we were too slow and timid about our blockade, and that had we blacklisted cotton earlier we should have done better, and the American trade would also have profited from stable conditions. I have an idea that we are greatly indebted to Laughlin and his colleagues at the Embassy, as well as to Dr. Page, for seeing things more clearly than Washington in the early days and years of the war. Laughlin had been at Berlin before the war, and told us many stories of the Kaiser, of whose moral cowardice he was convinced. His version of the incident when the Kaiser signed the declaration of war against Russia was that the Kaiser, after signing, flung his pen across the room with a violent gesture, and hurling the document at his Councillors, exclaimed: 'Take it and take the consequences with it.'

From various conversations with Americans lately I should judge that, when President Wilson first came over, volumes could not contain the matters on which he was misinformed. As one American said, 'He knew no more about European politics than a Hindu knows about skates.'

Saturday, May 3. Lunched, Monday, with Lady Cunard.

The Carisbrookes there, also the Ladies Diana Manners, Acheson, and Randolph Churchill, Lords Farquhar and D'Abernon, and Wolkoff. Lady Acheson a clever and well-informed lady of democratic inclinations. Lady Diana was looking very fresh and brilliant, and was quite charming. Tuesday I lunched with Sir Basil Zaharoff in a private room at the Carlton. A large party. Lord and Lady Farquhar, Sir George Younger, the Duchesse Machena and her two daughters—of whom I found the unmarried one, Mlle. de Bourbon, very clever and outspoken—Lady Cunard, Mrs. Walter Long, the Max-Mullers, and Sir Vincent Caillard, who has almost broken down from overwork but is mending I am glad to hope. A bouquet of wonderful malmaison carnations for every lady. Found the Duchess very quick-witted, well-informed, and agreeable. Sir B. Z. told us many interesting tales. One story of the X. pearls diverted me. If pearls could only speak! Let us be thankful that they cannot.

Wednesday Mrs. Sheridan dined with me. Dined with the Massereenes on the evening of Friday at the Ritz and discussed events in Ireland and here. Many Irish stories. One of an American leaving Ireland. A fellow passenger asked him how he liked it. The Yankee said that it was a horrible country—cold, damp, and full of Papists. 'Oh!' said the other in a very pronounced brogue, 'you should try Hell. It is warm, dry, and crammed full of Protestants!' The Carisbrookes, Marconi, the Cis Binghams and Mrs. Burton, Mrs. Lionel Guest, and various fair charmers dining.

The political week has been marked chiefly by Orlando's enthusiastic support from the Italian Chambers, and by the arrival of the German delegates at Versailles. The terms of the Peace are to be presented to them next week in a book of 350 pages. Orlando not yet back in Paris from Rome. The Belgians much distressed that they do not get the promise of a large indemnity at once, and the Japanese still dissatisfied about the colour question and Kiao-Chau. Things fairly quiet in England, but more trouble brewing in the Police. A row in Paris on May Day, and the

mob dispersed by the soldiers. Denikin in a baddish position in S.E. Russia, but Koltchak doing well, and Petrograd threatened by the Finns. Archangel expecting an attack. Old Hindenburg retires from the High Command in Germany. Munich has been recaptured from the Spartacists by German Government troops. We have only taken 18,206 recruits for the Army from November last to April 26, and 66,679 re-enlisted men since Jan. 1. In the last month 6625 new recruits and 4200 re-enlisted men have joined.

Friday, May 9. On Wednesday, the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the terms of Peace were presented to the Boches at Versailles. A memorable event. Orlando had returned in time and was present. Clemenceau made a short speech, after which Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Minister, remaining seated, made a disagreeable speech in reply, arrogant in manner, creating a deplorable impression. But he said nothing of any real importance, and promised to examine the terms with goodwill. These terms are out to-day in summary form. They are very severe and are better for us than most people expected. But they reduce Germany to a powerless condition in which a nation of 60 to 70 million people can never be content to live, and I fail to see how they can be maintained on their military side if Germany joins the League and claims equal rights with the rest of us. Meanwhile L. G. and Wilson agree to submit to their respective Parliaments an engagement to support France immediately if she be attacked by Germany in an unprovoked manner, and this guarantee should greatly calm French opinion. The Germans are naturally raising a great outcry about the severity of the terms, and the chance of their refusing to sign has to be considered.

Lunched with Belle Herbert on the 6th; Sidney and Michael, Sir G. Clerk, the Duchess of Roxburghe, and Mrs. Edwin Montagu. Clerk very amusing on the subject of the Foreign Office affairs and persons connected therewith.

Jack Stirling and I forgathered on the 9th and discussed the last phase of the war. He gives up command of the 2nd Scots Guards next week and returns to the city, poor

chap. How he will hate it after five years in France! Cator, who gets command of the battalion in peace, has commanded a division in war! Jack learnt from Germans at Cologne that the four Boche divisions who attacked on the Albert front a year ago became stone cold and would neither advance nor retreat nor move right or left. Jack regards the Boche break through at Armentières last year as a godsend, for they got into the low ground and many of Prince Rupprecht's best reserves were drawn in there and wasted, suffering immense losses.

Saturday, May 17. Went down to Easthampstead Park on the 10th for the week-end. Jack Downshire and the Baroness van Heemstra, besides Lady D. A glorious day. Sat for my portrait to the two ladies, and then had a good game or two of single tennis with Lady D. On Sunday there came down Mr. Dawson, who has been employed on the naval secret service watching the Spanish coast, and told us much about it. We played lawn tennis all the afternoon, and walked in the gardens in the morning. They were beautiful, full of blossom and bathed in sunlight. Miss Tice, the lady gardener, has done wonders and is a remarkable personality. Mr. Curry, the agent, dined Sunday and was gloomy about agriculture because the Government will not declare a policy. It is not very likely that the farmers will benefit by a fixed high price for wheat unless the Government guarantee it, as they will not be able to sell at this price when cheaper wheat comes in from abroad. If there is no guarantee wheat will go out of cultivation again, and all the advantage of the additional land laid down for wheat will be lost. Wages are up to 36s. Curry thinks that it costs so much to sow the grass again that farmers will grow clover and rough grasses and do what they can with it, and that in time England will find nothing pay but dairy farming. We shall be in the old mess in case of another war. Lady Downshire sold her chesnut colt at Tattersall's for 320 guineas. Not bad for an unbacked and untried two-year-old.

Dined with Lord Haldane on the 12th and we discussed

present and past affairs. We regretted that Lord French had not had his articles on the war edited by one of us. They are appearing in the *Daily Telegraph* and doing him harm, as there are reflections upon Lord K. and various subordinate generals. A few excisions would have made the thing all right without spoiling the story, which is fascinating. Haldane thinks that our terms will not be changed and that the Boches must sign. He says that at the Cabinet, on Aug. 4 or 5, 1914, Lord K., Lord Roberts, French, and Haig were all for different courses with regard to the use of the Expeditionary Force, but French's view prevailed. Saw the M.G.O., Sir W. Furse, at the War Office on Tuesday, 13th, and went into the question of the new 18-pr. equipment with him. He admits that the traversing is defective, the weight greater, and that the shrapnel range is unchanged, but says that a clock fuse will be found, the traversing put right, and that the improved stability and increase of range for H.E. shells from 6200 to 9200 and eventually to 11,000 yards are great advantages which cannot be despised. We only had one of these batteries in the field just at the end of the war. Some eighty of these guns have been built by Vickers. The M.G.O. has now taken back design from Munitions.

A talk in the afternoon in the stalls of Covent Garden Opera House with Lady Cunard, Sir Thomas Beecham, and Harry Higgins. Beecham has spent vast sums for ten years on re-creating English Opera and deserves immense credit for it. He should be better supported, but the Press is not too kind to him. He has laboriously collected an English orchestra and aims at rivalling foreign national opera houses, an object which all should support. Last Saturday was the first night of the new Covent Garden series. Melba was a great success, and Burke, the new tenor, had a triumph. We wondered how Melba could go on so long. Harry Higgins said that it was because she never took anything out of herself. Her singing was still a great education even if she had not all her old powers. Dined with Mrs. Lockett Agnew on the 14th. General

Sir Julian and Lady Byng there. Bungo and I discussed the war. He has refused the appointment offered to him, thinking that at fifty-six and after all that has passed he might not be very keen to prepare for the next war, which would be the only incentive in going on at peace soldiering. He reckons his most important day with the 3rd Army to have been the capture of Havrincourt by the 56th Division in September 1918. He supported it quickly with two other divisions, and the Boches threw two of the old Vionville divisions of their 3rd and 10th Corps, Brandenburgers and Hanoverians, against him with two more in reserve. They were well beaten, and the heart was out of the enemy afterwards. We talked Eton and thought how interesting it was that three out of the five Army Commanders in France should have been Etonians, and two of them, Byng and Rawly, 3rd Form boys. Cavan, commanding in Italy, was also an Etonian. Byng says that he himself was the stupidest boy at Eton till Rawly arrived, when the latter was in a class by himself. They were scugs, and Plumer a camouflaged scug too. We agreed that the best men matured late and practically never at school. Went to see the Academy, Wednesday. I admired some of the Sargents and J. J. Shannons. I thought Sargent's portrait of President Wilson very fine. It is the face of a thinker. Boyes's very modern 'Dust and Shade' a striking picture. The old pre-war throng of society folk at Burlington House was remarkable for its absence.

Lunched with Lady Massereene, 15th, and took Betty with me. The Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch in good mood and both amusing and intelligent. Lady Downshire, the Dufferins, Sir G. Macdonogh, and Mr. Mosley, M.P., also there. Lady Massereene lunched with me on the 16th at Claridge's, and we laughed so much over our respective stories that we were almost turned out. We had been talking over the telephone in the morning and had been constantly interrupted by a feminine voice asking if either of us was the baker. Lady M. held the telephone after

we had finished, and was again pestered to know if she was the baker. 'Do you want to know who I am?' she asked. 'Yes,' said the voice, 'I have been trying to find out for half an hour.' 'Well,' said Lady M., 'I am the thirteenth wife of the Shah of Persia.' The interruption then ceased.

The Germans shrieking over the Peace terms. There are figures to show that our total maritime losses during the war were 7,733,212 tons, the ships lost numbering 2217. America has only lost eighty ships of 341,512 tons. The Austrian delegates have reached Paris. Here are some curious and illuminating figures given to me by Brigadier-General Sir Alfred Balfour of the movements at Port No. 1, Southampton, Aug. 9, 1914, to May 10, 1919. Totals handled and daily averages were :—

	Totals handled.	Daily average.
Personnel	8,034,931	4631
Horses and mules . . .	859,198	495
Guns and limbers . . .	14,261	8
Vehicles (all sorts) . . .	166,639	96
Parcels and mail bags . .	7,650,068	4409
Stores, ammunition (tons) .	3,444,341	1985
Ships handled	16,918	9

Saturday, May 24. The Boches are busy assimilating our Peace terms and drafting many and various and furious answers and objections. We give them an extra week's law from the 22nd. Germany protests she will not sign, but no one much disturbed by the thought. Operations against the Bolshevists are now being more aided by the Allies. Petrograd is threatened, while Denikin and Koltchak are doing better. Afghanistan under its new Amir is attacking our frontier, and Barrett is beating them on the Khaibar front, while other troops are concentrating to teach them a lesson. Lunched with the Beresfords and Lady Ebury, 17th. In the evening to the Opera with Lady Cunard's party, which included the Cromers, Dufferins, Duchess of Manchester, Lady Ian Hamilton, Lady Randolph, and a few more. Melba has put up her price for singing from

£200 to £400 a night and the opera people had refused to pay it, so we did not hear her in *La Bohème*, but the new tenor, Burke, was singing and should have a career.

Monday, 19th, lunched with Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, and had a good talk about parliamentary and political matters. Dined in the evening with Lady Hamilton, and found General Childs,—christened Fido by Macready—Lady Cunard, Mrs. Keppel, Mr. Fisher the Minister for Education, Eddy Marsh, the Countess Pappenheim who has a new name and a new husband, Mrs. Astor, and various others. Lunched, 20th, with Captain Jack (Stanley) Wilson, M.P., and we compared our recollections of some critical days in May 1915 in France, and also discussed various private matters. Hunter-Weston and I dined with Comyn-Platt at the Windham, and we went on to the 1900 Club, where I gave a short address on the Peace terms, Lord Malmesbury presiding. After H. W. and other members had to fly off for a division on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons, I was asked a string of questions and answered them all.

On Wednesday, 21st, came the sad news that Lady Paget had died the previous day in Paris from a sharp attack of pneumonia, following influenza. Another old, true, and loyal friend passed away. A woman of indefatigable energy and undefeated spirits; certainly one of the most successful hostesses of these times, and with the gift of collecting round her all the lions and stars of the day, male and female. Fond of fun and laughter, she delighted in good stories, was kindness itself, and was unwearied in good works, having, I believe, collected more money for Anglo-American enterprises than any one else alive. Though quite lame from her fall in the lift in Belgrave Square fourteen years ago, she refused to be beaten by fate and went on living her old life and remaining the centre of a large circle which constantly attracted new members. I was due at Coombe, June 7th, and now Coombe, I suppose, will be no more. A great loss to her many

friends and a hard blow to Sir Arthur, following on the death of his brilliant soldier son, Bertie, a little over a year ago only.

Friday, May 30. The Peace Conference drags on and is becoming a bore. The Boches are handing in a volume of objections. Labour and Police troubles again threatening at home. Went to Hallingbury for the last week-end, and had a very pleasant visit there. The grounds and forest looking perfect, the azaleas in full bloom, and the wistaria in all its glory. The rock and sunken gardens showing all their old attractions. On Monday saw Lieut.-Colonel Charles Nicholl back from the war after five years away from the office, and was very pleased to have a talk with him. On Tuesday, 27th, lunched with Lord Esher at Brooks's Club, and we had a good talk over the past and discussed the future. He tells me that he went to Paris in September 1914, at Lord K.'s request, to keep K. in touch with the Army and with political and military affairs in Paris. Asquith also asked him to stay on there, and then L. G., though the latter only by word of mouth. E. subsequently wrote constantly to Robertson, and must have been a valuable source of information. It is questionable when E.'s Memoirs of this time can appear, but the story will not be complete until they do. Sir George Murray joined us and told us that when the armament firms met the War Office people early during the war and all the experts had given their advice about munitions and contracts, he entered a caveat that all depended upon their getting labour and raw materials, and that they looked to the War Office to provide them. This was just what was not, or could not, be done.

Dined with Lord and Lady D'Abernon at Foley House. A large party of twenty, including the Lyttons, McKennas, Granards, Montagus, Mrs. Astor, Lord Ribblesdale, Sir Seymour Fortescue, Sir Lionel Earle, and others. Much talk of Lord French's book and revelations. Lady Lytton a picture in white and very agreeable.

Attended the service for Lady Paget at St. Peter's,

Eaton Square. A large attendance of her old friends. A very sad ceremony. It is a pity that the Church of England does not imitate more the R.C. ritual and prayers for the dead with all their impressive features. Dined with Mrs. Greville the night of the 28th; a large party of thirty at a long and narrow table: the Lord Chief-Justice and Lady Reading, the Marquis and Marchioness of Cambridge (Duke and Duchess of Teck), and their daughter Lady Victoria, Lady Ridley, the Douglas Dawsons, Maguires, and Felix Doubledays, Lady Sarah back from France, George Keppel and Sonia, the Aga Khan, Arthur Stanley, and some others. A very pleasant dinner, and found my neighbour, Mrs. Felix Doubleday, very good company and a pretty and attractive woman. She told me much about France and America. A good talk with Lady Ridley afterwards: as sensible and wise as ever. She gets back into her hospital house soon. Mrs. Ronny very well and in her old spirits. The Cambridge ladies in the long court dresses looking mid-Victorian, and were rather plaintive on the subject. Lunched with Lady Massereene on the 29th. Five lovely ladies, including Mrs. Peto, Lady Titchfield, Mrs. Eric Chaplin, and Mrs. Burton. The Prince of Wales receives the Freedom of the City and makes a good speech.

Friday, Mrs. Greville lunched with me, and we had a pleasant talk. I also met Lovat and Elles of the Tank Corps.

Monday, June 2. Lunched at home and then picked up Lady Massereene at the Ritz, and went on to St. Margaret's, Westminster, to see Lady Diana Manners married to Mr. Duff Cooper. A huge crowd outside and in the church. The bride a great popular favourite, and richly deserves to be for she is a sweet lady. Everybody in London at the wedding. Went to Arlington Street afterwards and had a talk to the bride, who was most charming to all her old friends. Her letter to thank me for a trifling present was a model of what such letters should be, and quite touched me. Heaps of lovely presents. Dined

at home after completing preparations for a journey to the Rhine.

We were thrilled in the morning to read that Mrs. John Astor had been married quietly to Lord Ribblesdale. A most suitable alliance. There is no one the least like either of them, and I am sure that they will be very happy.

Tuesday, June 3. Left Victoria, 8.50 A.M., for Folkestone. Found Miss Phyllis Boyd in the train on her way to Paris and the Riviera to join the Marlborough-Wimborne party. She was very jolly and shared my cabin on the boat as she was in very short skirts and a light coat, and it had suddenly turned very cold. M. Barreda from Peru is chaperoning her on from Boulogne, and Charles de Noailles is to meet her, so she will be all right. Saw M. Cambon on board and had a talk with him on the affairs of the Baroness, about which he gave me some advice. A fine crossing. Boulogne still pretty busy, but to-day was a holiday and most of our people were away from their offices. Walked on the sea front. A dull long wait till night, when I took the 10 P.M. express to Cologne. Found some beastly Sauterne, but some excellent Chablis at Meurice's.

Wednesday, June 4. A cold journey through the night and a cold day following. The Cologne Express or Staff train is a long one; most of the carriages on the hospital principle, with no compartments and two tiers of beds each side, but the carriage which I was in had compartments each for one or two. We were very cold at night on a hard couch and one thin blanket. Breakfasted at the Club at Charleroi. This and other Belgian towns seem almost untouched, and there was little sign of devastation on the line we traversed by Namur, Huy, and Herbesthal. Many factories and mines at work, but some were silent. Heaps of rolling stock, and the railways in fair order. Belgium has the greater part of her young manhood still intact and should recover quickly from her sufferings. Reached Cologne, 4.40 P.M., and drove to Robertson's château outside the town and near the Rhine. A well-built house in good grounds, large, roomy, spick and span, most comfortably

furnished, and with excellent bathrooms. I found Miss Decima Moore with four of her ladies at tea with the staff and about to play tennis. Leo Maxse ending a visit to G.H.Q. He has been to Verdun, Bonn, etc. He finds nobody thin in this part of Germany except some pigs, and declares that his own pigs are thinner. An amusing talk at dinner. We have still 10 divisions and the Cavalry, some 200,000 men in the aggregate, and they are distributed over 60 miles of front and 60 of depth. There are 21 squadrons of the Air Force, each squadron 18 machines. No Boche troops in the occupied territory. We hold with posts all approaches into the rest of Germany. Cologne full of people, and our men go about quite unarmed. The Boches behave civilly and all is peace. The rich aspect of the Rhineland plain is very striking. Towns, villages, factories, and countryside all speak of wealth and ease. The story of the Scottish sergeant who would not allow the Boche lady to fraternise with him is a good one.

Thursday, June 5. The Boche beds still a foot too short and of no use to any one. Went into Cologne in the morning and visited our Headquarters, some Clubs, and Miss Decima Moore's Leave Club. All very well kept. Saw Generals Archie Montgomery, Haldane, and Sillem. General Elles of the Tanks came in. Little harm done here by the British long-range air-bombers. Leo Maxse left for home. In the afternoon a long motor drive with Sir William. Went first to Bonn and looked over the town and then for a tour in the hills, visiting the billets of our troops. They seem very happy and are living in the houses of the people and get on well with them. Generals Sir W. Heneker, Hugh Elles, and Harman dined at the Mess to-night. They are agreed that this part of Germany is full of money, marvellously organised, and better electrified than any country in Europe. Heneker exacts from 3000 to 5000 marks a week in fines. The Municipalities are most obedient. Every order given is carried out. It is the general impression that the Boche, being disciplined and hard-working, will come to the top again industrially.

Friday, June 6. Went off with Sir William into the hills to the West and inspected battalions and camps of the Highland Division. Lovely scenery. The Camerons, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and others in very good fettle. They were in fighting order, in which the complete equipment should weigh 64 lb., which is excessive, but I doubt that they had nearly so much to-day. Many battalions now under canvas for training. Their transport was in admirable condition and the horses and mules excellent. The training limited to four hours in the forenoon, and the rest of the day passed in recreations and sports. In the afternoon attended the Southern Division Race Meeting: seven races and good fields. A large crowd came. The race-course is a Boche aerodrome and the grand stand is a Boche fort. The chap who made it would have burst had he known that its first use would be as a stand for a British Army Race Meeting, and that its formidable obstacles would be decorated with flowers by Boche feminine hands for us. All very well organised and ordered, and very sporting races, steeple and flat. The last race was for mules ridden by soldiers. There were seventy starters. The mules galloped like stags. Two coaches, either begged, borrowed, or commandeered from the Boches. They had chargers for the teams and a horn for each coach. Sandown redivivus. In the evening there dined General Lawford commanding the 41st Division, now the London Division, and Wilson the Chief Vet., besides Dillon, De Burgh, and Lithgow of Robertson's Staff. I met various people at the races. All are astonished at the excellence of the organisation of the country by the Boches, and some think that British officers controlling Boche organisation is nearly perfection. Robertson told me that he had to cashier about one officer a day in confirming court-martial sentences. The best of our young officers have not remained. The Cavalry are much down. N.C.O.s poor, and only one or two Regular officers per battalion. In two or three months the Army of the Rhine is expected to have completed its reorganisation.

Saturday, June 7. Spent the morning with Sir William inspecting the Air Force, of which we saw some six or seven squadrons on the right bank of the Rhine. Mainly Bristol fighters, a two-seated aeroplane with one 270 horse-power Rolls-Royce or Sunbeam engine, and the new Snipes, a one-seater fast scout which can do 130 miles an hour at 10,000 feet. The personnel and machines looked fit and efficient. All planes are now fitted with wireless to communicate with the ground, but as yet they are not able to communicate from plane to plane, nor from the ground to planes at long ranges. In one of the Boche aerodromes used by us there is a huge Zeppelin shed from 600 to 700 feet long and 120 feet high, strongly but lightly made, with concrete floor and doors which roll open. This shed takes the aeroplanes of many of our squadrons.

In the afternoon had a long talk with our Governor of Cologne, Sir C. Fergusson, and with his G.S.O.1, Colonel Ryan, formerly of the 1st Army. Sidney Clive is unfortunately away. We have about 2,500,000 Boches in our area, of whom 658,000 in Cologne. Fergusson deals through the Regierungs Präsident with the country generally, and through the Ober Burgermeister for Cologne. The Boches are satisfied with our presence because we save them from Labour and Revolutionary disturbances, and the letters opened by our Censors prove the fact. We have had to take over the duty of suppressing strikes because they interfere with us militarily, but we only give a judgment when the ordinary Courts of Arbitration have failed. If the strikers are still naughty we deport their leaders into the unoccupied parts of Germany. At the same time we advise on wages questions, and wages have gone up 25 per cent. since we came. The increased price of food and the fall of the mark make it hard for the poor to get along, as it costs a working man eighty marks a week to live, and he only gets some fifteen marks a day. The wages earned by wife and children help him out, but it is a near thing. The eight-hour day is now general in our area. Fergusson decentralises through the Divisional and especi-

ally the Brigade Commanders, who are allotted certain areas and deal with the Burgermeister or group of Burgermeisters in their area. The fines are levied by order of small courts of military magistrates. All the German Administration is willing and ready to help us.

Fergusson thinks that there are 5 per cent. of rich men in the area, but that the rest are far from rich and only make 5000 marks a year at the most, and that the depreciation of the currency makes the case harder. They are pretty well through their local supplies until next harvest, but Hoover's food and our Army supplies help out, while food is coming from Holland and a little from other parts of Germany. The arrival of food from outside tends to release the hoarded stocks which have been held for a rise in prices. So the gravity of the food question has been to some extent overcome, but Cologne is not getting its share of the promised American 340,000 tons a month, which is coming very slowly.

The French and Belgians and Americans were before us in the field for trade. They swamped the markets and have taken millions of pounds' worth of orders. Only 1 per cent. of the trade travellers were British up to a few weeks ago, and now the figure is only 4 per cent. We are handicapped by the sentimental desire not to trade with Germany, by our refusal up to ten days ago to take German payment in marks, and by difficulties in transport. The Boches have many things we need, but only one cargo of potash has yet gone to England. There is a tremendous demand for English cigarettes, which are fetching one mark each in Germany. Smuggling is rife, especially on the Düsseldorf side.

The attempt of some Mainz people to establish a Rhenish Republic is not well seen at Cologne. Here they might accept it if it meant economic independence, and independence from Prussian rule, but they do not wish to be severed from Germany. Representatives have just left for Versailles to negotiate with the Paris Conference. We

are neutral in the matter. The Americans refuse to allow the Mainz Proclamations to be published in their area. The French are busy and have taken a feel here. The German reply to our economic demands has impressed Paris. The Germans seem ready to pay 5000 millions sterling at the rate per year of their whole pre-war income. This seems to have astonished Paris, which did not expect more than 2000 million. The Germans say that they must know the full debt, and that if it be left to depend on how much they earn there is no inducement to them to earn money to pay to others. Trade is undoubtedly reviving here, and we pour much money into the country by our troops. The Hohe Strasse is as full of our men as of civilians. There is very little open fraternising; in fact, one may say none. The Germans say that we are very proud, ignore them, and look upon the place as our own.

Fergusson has a large organisation most skilfully constructed. It seems to be very well run. Our G.H.Q. consists of Sir William and 4 A.D.C.s; a Military Secretary, Sir A. Montgomery, C.G.S.; 2 B.G.G.S.s for O. and S.D. (of whom one was Brig.-Gen. G. F. Boyd, but he now has the Midland Division); 4 other G.S.O.s for O.; 2 for S.D.; 4 for Training; 6 for Education; and 8 for Intelligence, which is under Colonel Beddington. Sillem is D.A.G. with a staff of 15; Chichester D.Q.M.G. with 14 officers, Suppy and Transport under B. G. F. M. Wilson with 12 officers, and other services to match. Salmond is over the Air Staff. E. B. Hankey commands the Tank Group. The 2nd, 4th, 6th, 9th, and 10th Army Corps are under Jacob, Godley, Haldane, Braithwaite, and Morland. The Cavalry Division is under Peyton. The divisions are now :—

Western	under	Strickland
Light	,,	Whigham
Northern	,,	Deverell
Midland	,,	Boyd (late Hull)
Lowland	,,	Butler

Southern	under	Heneker
Lancashire	,,	Jeudwine
Eastern	,,	Nicholson
London	,,	Lawford
Highland	,,	Campbell.

Each division three infantry brigades, each ten battalions, including pioneers and a good force of artillery. There is a Rotterdam and an Antwerp Base Staff in the Command. It has taken a long time to equalise the units and reorganise the Command, but the work is nearly done now. The Army has elements of weakness due to few old Regular officers, inferiority of the regimental officers who have joined since the war and are staying on for the greater part because they are not sure of other employment, paucity of good N.C.O.s, weakness of the cavalry, and so on. But the higher Commanders are all excellent, and there is nothing much in front of us at present, so the Army serves its purpose, and also improves daily. The young battalions are smart and keen. Musketry and artillery practice are coming on, and there are still a good few of the old fighting battalions as a stand-by.

In the evening there dined with us General and Madame Mangin, three or four other French officers, Sir C. Fergusson, General Jacob whom I was glad to meet, General Strickland, and a Mrs. Harjes, the pretty wife of one of the Morgan firm in Paris. A cheery dinner. I found Madame Mangin pleasant but deaf. The General and I found it trying to say pretty things in French, and then have to repeat them louder while all the rest stopped talking to listen. General Mangin came in the smart black tunic which French generals wear, and with all his decorations. He had been with Marchand at Fashoda. We fell to talking of those days and of the old Anglo-French Colonial rivalry, thinking how much the Boche must have had to do with it. After dinner General Mangin talked to me about the Rhenish Republic. He complained a little that there had been no common agreement between the Allies, and that

even this evening neither Sir W. nor Fergusson had discussed the subject with him. Mangin said that he had received no advice whatsoever from his own Government. His aim certainly is to separate the whole Rhineland from Germany, but I objected that this would not be accepted, and that if we could make it economically independent of Prussia the rest might come later. He allowed that the Boche people at Mainz had been indiscreet, and he had hauled them over the coals. We should now see what the mission to Versailles would effect.

Sunday, June 8. Went to Church with the General and De Burgh. Full of troops with a good sprinkling of British visitors, nurses, V.A.D.s, etc. Two good young padres who spoke up like men. The pulpit is behind the altar, but the padre did not use it when he preached. It was covered by a Union Jack. The men sang well. Very affecting to hear 'God save the King' sung in the circumstances in which we were placed. 'Victorious, happy, and glorious' had a new meaning. The end of a very moving chapter of history. We came back over the bridge of boats. Caught the 2.8 P.M. train for Paris. A piping hot journey, but the amenities of foreign travel are returning, and we had sleeping berths and a restaurant car.

Monday, June 9. Found my old rooms kept for me at the Ritz, and was lucky, considering the crowds in Paris now. In the morning saw Sir George Grahame at the Embassy. He should go far in diplomacy. Derby laid up with a chill. Saw David Henderson at the new M.A.'s office, 22 Rue de l'Elysée. He was in plain clothes and has become Director-General of the League of the Red Cross Societies at Geneva.

Found Marshal Foch at home at the Boulevard des Invalides at 3, and had a good talk with him. He was looking much more worried and careworn than when I saw him last. Fighting with the politicos is much more wearing than fighting Boches. He began by asking me my impressions of the Rhine front. I told him. Foch has got 42 divisions in his French Armies, and the classes retained are up to

thirty years of age. If there has to be an advance we are to take Düsseldorf, Essen, and the Ruhr Valley factories and the mines and foundries. Foch does not expect any serious opposition in the West, but believes that when the Poles try to take Germanised Poland they will be resisted, probably successfully, and a month after Peace is signed we may be all at war again if we let Poland shift for herself. Foch is evidently fed up with the Peace Conference. He took a strong line about the Rhine, which we both consider to be the proper military frontier, and says that now the Big Four almost never consult him, and do not follow his advice when they do. We went to the map, and agreed, as I have frequently written of late, that the Rhine and the Alps are the proper frontier for the Allies as they were for Rome. Foch says that he can hold the Rhine with a small force, and by controlling the railway bridges control the passage, but that, if the French frontier is thrown further back, then he cannot pretend to control the river Rhine, and very large forces will be needed to guard the frontier. We British are concerned because events have shown this to be our frontier.

What is the answer, I asked, to the argument that if we keep the Rhineland we create a German Alsace-Lorraine ? Foch says that the answer is that he only wants to keep his garrisons where they are, and does not seek to administer the country, which can be left as it is now, under the German administration. It would be a great *soulagement* if a small number of British troops could be left there, and he would even be content with a weak division. We discussed the Rhenish Republic, and Foch agreed that a province economically independent of Prussia was as far as we should go at present. He was most sarcastic about the Paris Conference, and said that we should have had peace six months ago, and that he was getting tired of the delay and was thinking of resigning. I told him that he could not and that it would be almost a desertion. He admitted that he could not till peace was signed ; '*Donc je reste.*' I asked why he did not leave Paris without beat of drum and

establish his headquarters with the Armies, and he told me that he thought of doing so.

We discussed the political folk, and I asked what had happened to the Tiger. 'Oh,' laughed Foch, 'he has never been a tiger, it is only make-believe. President Wilson leads the Conference and does what he likes. I may not have my Rhine frontier because it is against Wilson's fine principles, and so when war comes again we shall have fine principles in place of a natural frontier.' The politicians understood nothing of natural frontiers, it was all one to them how a frontier was drawn. Foch was sore and bitter on this subject, and the rift between him and Clemenceau is obviously serious, and a thousand pities. He can get no policy laid down for him on any subject except as regards the Rhine front, and even about the Rhenish Republic no lead is given to the soldiers. A very unsatisfactory position.

In the late afternoon I received a telephone invitation to dine to-night with Marshal Pétain, and just had time to catch the train to Chantilly, where the Marshal's car with an A.D.C. met me. We went to look at the great carp in the ditch of the château, picked up Major Benson of our Mission, and found Pétain in a pleasant well-kept garden of a smallish but comfortable house, where General Buat and the other half dozen members of Pétain's Staff joined us after the Marshal and I had had a first talk alone in the garden. After dinner we adjourned to a terrace outside, the evening being hot, and had a long talk, Buat leaving us after the first twenty minutes or so. I found Pétain as dissatisfied as Foch with the interminable delays of the Conference, and he said that both the country and the Army were growing nervous under the long strain. The younger officers, who were underpaid with eight francs a day when all civilian salaries were being raised, threatened to form a syndicate. He was dissatisfied himself, but thought that it would be a *petit trahison* if he left before peace was signed. No one really governed the Army now. Clemenceau was in the hands of Mordacq and Mandel,

and the different heads of the administration each panned out for themselves. They were well-meaning, however, and came to Pétain for advice. Pétain has all the post-war regulations finished. He has also almost completed a well-documented history of the operations of the French Armies and showed me a typed copy of part of it. It seems admirably done with a clear and concise account of the operations, including explanations and a reason for the action taken, and then all the chief orders given, but no comments or criticisms. I told him that I wanted our people to have a good account of the work of the French Armies, and he offered to put me up for six months while I studied and took all I wanted from his account. A good offer and I must consider it. His Staff have worked splendidly to get the *rapport* done so quickly. It will be finished in about a fortnight. The *rapports* by Foch, Joffre, and Nivelle will complete the military story from the French side.

Pétain says that he has fifty-one divisions in all, but nine are weak. People have tried to set him up against Foch, but he will not lend himself to the plan. He agrees with Foch and supports him. He never goes to Paris unless ordered there, has taken no part in any banquets or festivities, and has had no Deputy at his table except Ministers who have the right to come. As he makes no exceptions, this satisfies everybody. He keeps quiet and to himself, so the Press never mention his name. Clemenceau is now making advances to him, but this is because Clemenceau is at loggerheads with Foch, so he does not respond.

Foch, thought Pétain, was right to have given his military opinion about the Rhine, but he should have handed in a written memorandum to disengage his responsibility, and if the Government refused to take his advice this was a governmental decision which should have been respected. Instead of this Foch spoke at a meeting of the Conference without being invited, and tried to force acceptance of his views, continuing his opposition afterwards. L. G. is

reported to have said that if any British general had done the same thing he would have been dismissed a quarter of an hour later. Pétain was looking very fit and well. The open life campaigning has agreed with him. He rides at 6.30 A.M. daily, and is very happy and contented in his garden. The Boches are said to be preparing the elements for the restoration of the Army in all Army Corps regions. The mixed brigade in each region is the nucleus of an Army Corps, and there are 350,000 men under arms. Pétain scoffs at the idea that the Boches can be compelled to reduce to 100,000 men, and lays stress on controlling the output of material. Pétain wants 'at least' one British division left on the Rhine *pour faire acte de présence.*

The Marshal also told me that the new Civil Commission for controlling the occupied territories is so arranged that Foch is practically eliminated from the leadership of it. The Civilian Commission can be counted on to spoil the soldiers' work. The feeling of the French soldiers is that the Conference is spoiling the work of the Army, and that it is incapable of taking decisions. Foch was most amusing to-day on this subject. He said, 'They work like this,' and then began, as his custom is, to show how they worked. He began to manipulate an imaginary pestle and mortar, working the pestle round with his hands. Then he stooped and looked down. 'It is not made yet . . . but there is a bad smell . . . it gets on . . . there are poison gases,' and then he set to work again with the pestle harder than ever, putting on a most serious look. He thought that they were dissipating the profits of the Allied victories. Public opinion also begins to menace Clemenceau largely on account of the still severe censorship, but also because of certain perquisitions among Paris Pressmen, which have caused great annoyance. President Wilson is not loved. One may almost say that he is detested. Pétain told me that no one controlled distant operations, and that all was chaos on this side. He and Foch both think that whenever the Boches cry out loud enough the Big Four surrender something. There is no courage, and there are no decisions.

I lunched to-day with Harold Nicholson of our Mission. He is engaged on Czech, Greek, Bulgarian, and other matters, and is one of the brightest of the younger men in our team. He thinks that Venizelos has made the greatest reputation here, not only in Greek affairs, but in advising on other matters. He felt, on the whole, that L. G. was doing well in most difficultcircumstances, but that most of the older men were played out and that the younger men should take over control. I hear from other sources that L. G. is tired out by all his worries here. Willie Tyrrell has returned to London since a month. Eyre Crowe is doing very well. There are two ways of running the Conference, one by a process of empiricism and improvisation, and the other by trusting to the experts. Our people pass alternately from one to the other, and often find that their experimental processes are unworkable. Then all is begun again. There is an amusing story that L. G. and Venizelos were discussing Greek claims over a map in which the low ground was painted green. L. G. thought the green was a non-Greek population and frequently tried to refute Venizelos by showing him on the map great blocks of non-Greek population. V. did not know whether he stood on his head or his heels, but eventually discovered L. G.'s error. There have been passages of absolute comedy, and not one of the Big Four, except Orlando, really understands the questions that come up. Neither military, diplomatic, nor economic experts are given a chance. Nicholson thought that if the League began with small things and were modest we might do some good, but all orthodox diplomacy was opposed to it while pretending not to be. He said that after the League had had an innings at London, Washington, and then again at Paris, it would move to Geneva next spring, and then Germany might be admitted. The Boches could not get the conditions of the Peace altered, because the Peace was one with the Convention, and only unanimity could alter the text of the Treaty.

David Henderson told me to-day that his successor as M.A. in Paris should be a gentleman, a trained soldier, and a

French linguist. We have few men who answer all these requirements, though we have many who could meet two of them. Returned late from Chantilly by train crammed full of holiday makers. Reached Paris about 12.30 A.M. The way that Frenchwomen half undress in a crowded train is disconcerting.

Tuesday, June 10. Fixed up meetings with General Pershing and M. Herbette for to-morrow. A number of pretty ladies at the Ritz. Met Irene Brown, Jeanne de Salverte, Lady Hadfield, Lady Curzon, and had tea with Mrs. Leeds. Lady C. looking a dream of English loveliness. The process of having one's passport *viséd* at the Préfecture de Police now takes the place of the old rules. A surging mob of people there, of whom two thousand can be passed a day. It looked as if I might be there for hours, if not days, but by a great stroke of luck I happened to ask my way of M. Picquart, the *chef de service*, who was returning to work after lunch, and he very kindly put my affair through in a few minutes. Found Mrs. Leeds scarcely recovered from her illness during the winter and from her anxieties during Lady Paget's fatal illness in her rooms. She leaves for Geneva to-morrow and will be back at Kenwood within the fortnight. She will be leaving for America later. Mrs. Gordon Bennett and Poklevsky came in.

A good talk with Count Sobanski later. He told me a good story of the Conference. A certain diplomatist was asked what he thought of the Treaty. He replied: 'Le traité remplit toutes les conditions d'une guerre juste et durable.' Sobanski savage with L. G., who has been odious about Poland and has sent her no help in her need as other Allies have done. L. G. impatient with Poland, and says she is never satisfied. Sobanski says that Poland has 300,000 men, but that her economic rehabilitation is not yet accomplished. He scoffs at the proposed referendum in Upper Silesia, where the Germans have imprisoned the leading Poles, and the German clergy and Prussian patrons will manipulate the ignorant masses. S. says that L. G. has made England thoroughly unpopular

in Poland. He asked why English public opinion did not show itself. I replied that the public knew little of what was happening in Paris, and that until we got the text of the Treaty nothing could be done, and then it would be too late.

He told me that he heard from fairly sure Swiss sources that the German Government had asked Hindenburg whether he could beat the Poles, and that he had replied Yes, provided that all the present military resources of Germany were placed in his hands. But he added that in the given case the Allies would inundate Germany, occupy Berlin, and compel the Germans to disgorge, so he failed to see the utility of the enterprise. I told S. that the danger was not there, but in the probably rapid demobilisation of the Allied Armies after the signature of Peace, and in the opposition which the Prussians would make to the occupation of Polish Prussia by the Poles. I suggested that it should be agreed that the evacuation should be at stated times, and the arrival of the Poles at other stated times later, and that a mixed Inter-Allied civil and military Commission should regulate the whole affair.

Some one said to me to-day that the Peace Conference marked the demise of democracy, for its most representative organ, the Parliament in each country, had gone for nothing in the whole of the world work, and had neither been informed nor consulted. Some other one added that there were no real delegates, but only four autocratic *de facto* chiefs of States, whose unlimited powers had never been equalled in history. Their eyes were fixed on their own internal policies. Yet a third observed that their powers were only equalled by their flippancy, and their flippancy by their ignorance. A story was told that Clemenceau complained of the difficulty of presiding over L. G. and Wilson, since the former imagined himself Napoleon, while the latter considered himself Christ. Clemenceau, like Talleyrand of old, has attributed to him all the good stories.

Dined in the evening with Brigadier-General Charles Grant at Jemmy Rothschild's house, 31 bis Avenue du Bois

de Boulogne. Quite perfect cooking and some beautiful tapestry and eighteenth-century furniture, besides an unequalled dinner service, of which there are 400 pieces. The acme of comfort, taste, and culinary skill. We discussed the times and found that our deductions about the general situation concurred, but Grant thinks that only eighteen of the French divisions are full up. We admitted, just to each other, that the ideals of the League of Nations were the only hope for civilisation.

Wednesday, June 11. Busy at the French F.O. in the morning.

Saw General Pershing at his house, 73 Rue de Varenne, later. He was looking well and cheerful. I told him what I wanted to know about his operations in order that I might be well posted when I went to America, and he told me that he would give me all he had and could say no more than that. I had been, he said, very helpful, and my articles had been widely read in the U.S. He may be breaking up his G.H.Q. at Chaumont by July 15, but will have all necessary papers sent to me. He thinks that American politics have much to do with attacks on him and his Staff, but, on the whole, doubts whether the Republicans will take up a strong line of criticism against the U.S. Army during the election campaign, as they will not care to decry a great national work or place themselves in opposition to the war in any way. He tells me, *à propos* of not keeping up his divisions who fought alongside of us, that he was so short of drafts that he had to break up entirely ten of his divisions which were in France waiting to be trained. He was short of many things, but did not consider it fair to blame the administration, who were doing their best. He told me that on no single occasion did the Government at Washington send him any plans of campaign, suggestions, or criticisms, and that he had told the President that this was a record and that no C.-in-C. in the field was ever left so free a hand. He had been congratulated by his French and British colleagues upon being so far away from home! He agreed with me about the strength and organisation of

Germany, and felt as sure as I did that she would soon revive and attempt to recover her losses. He was as impressed as I was by the fact that there was no sign of war in Germany, that the whole machine of Government worked smoothly, and that the towns, fields, and factories were just as usual.

Pershing favours the ideals behind the League of Nations, and thinks that even if the present plan is more or less scrapped we may have a better substituted. He thinks that the future of civilisation rests upon the co-operation of England and America, since the whole affair rests on confidence, and those two countries, alone in the world, have confidence in each other.

Pershing said that in his opinion the re-insurance Treaty of France, England, and America all held together, and that the thing dropped if one fell out of the line. He gave me his views about France. He admitted that he had not been in favour of the Armistice. He trained his troops hard for three months afterwards, and would have had a fine Army by the spring. I agreed, and said that if his present critics would remember that we all were, to the last, playing up to April 1919 as the date of the decisive offensive, Pershing's actions during the war would be better comprehended. Affairs had gone better and faster in the last campaign than any of us, even Foch, had expected.

Charles Grant, by the way, suggested last night that Foch was the most secretive of men about his plans, while always protesting that he had none. Grant thought that this was not correct, and mentioned the meeting of the Allied generals on July 24 last year when the operations of the two following months were sketched out by Foch. Lunched at the Château Madrid in the Bois under spreading chestnuts. A delightfully cool place for lunching in this hot weather. The tables under the trees, excellent cooking, and a good string band. The bust of François I.'s lady still looks out for his return, and the old oak which the king planted is just outside the railings of the château. Returned to the F.O. at four to

see M. Herbette. Saw the Countess Jeanne de Salverte. She gave me a photograph of herself with her lion cub. Only one goldfish left in the celebrated bowl.

Thursday, June 12. Left Paris midday and arrived London 10.20 P.M., after a very stormy crossing of the Channel, where it was blowing great guns. One roll took everybody across the deck,—chairs, people, and baggage—but happily only some of the bags went overboard. The ship took quite an appreciable time to right herself, and I was told that one of the water-ballast tanks had not been filled. We all arrived rather woebegone. In the Pullman met Dr. Sidney Beauchamp, who has been doing doctor to the Conference and was as pleasant as ever. He attributes to Countess Benckendorff the reply to the question how long the Conference would last—'Neuf mois pour sur, puisque le plus célèbre accoucheur anglais y est.'

My neighbour was Sir George Foster, the Canadian Minister, and we talked most of the way to London. A man of perspicacity and broad serious views whom I liked very much. He thinks that we shall have all Canada with us in drawing close to America, and he shares Pershing's views about France. We had an interesting talk on the Roman Catholics in Canada and upon finance.

Saturday, June 28. This day the Treaty of Peace with Germany was signed at Versailles.

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